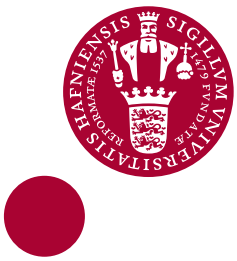

Relocating Europe

Border Officials and their everyday attempts to stabilise borders

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Relocating Europe

Border officials and their everyday attempts to stabilise borders

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Front- and back-page photograph by the author.
Danish-German border crossing Rønsdam After the introduction of temporary border control (2016, front cover) and before (2015, back cover)

For my father and my grandfather

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CONTENTS

Preface

Embarking on the field research that forms the basis for this dissertation, I travelled to the border region of southern Denmark to meet with two retired police officers, both of whom had worked at the Danish–German border for more than 30 years. Born and raised in this border region, Harry and Christian each moved to Copenhagen to study at the Police Academy before returning to the borderlands to look for work at the police departments that managed the borders towards Germany in the mid-1970s. They entered the police force just a decade after the abolishment of the military corps, *Gensdarmerne*, which had controlled the border by foot. Instead of only handling border control, though, the new squadron was comprised of trained police officers who also performed police work in their districts unrelated to border control. Moreover, as members of a new professionalised police corps, these two young police officers were part of a generation that took pride in establishing cross-border relationships with their German colleagues on the other side; it was a point of honour to establish an ever-closer cooperation, which then paved the way for the close bilateral cooperation between today's police officers. Working at the borders in the 1980s, Harry and Christian were also part of the first generation of Danish police officers who had to deal with a new kind of border trespasser: asylum seekers looking for refuge in Denmark. Harry and Christian were also still active officers when Denmark entered the Schengen Agreement in 2001; an agreement that, amongst other things, abolished permanent border and customs control at the land borders in order to ensure the free and unhindered movement of people, vehicles, and goods across the EU–Schengen Area.

During our talks and drive along this area's many border-crossing points, Harry and Christian shared with me their anecdotes, documents, pictures, opinions, and knowledge of the border's hidden landscape. Like me, they were both interested in the history of this region and the border as well as the development of their profession. In the house Harry shares with his wife, he has an office full of shelves with books, boxes of records, documents, and photographs from his days in the police force. During one of our conversations, Harry pulled out an old, worn-out yellow binder with the title "Police Jurisdiction in Gråsten". The binder is full of papers, pictures, and documents that Harry has gathered over the years. *"You can borrow it"*, he said, *"but I need it back because this is history"*.

Once I returned to my office at the University of Copenhagen, I browsed through the binder, studying Harry's compilation of all sorts of papers, photocopies,

descriptions, and pictures that were more-or-less directly related to the Danish–German border and his time as part of the border police.

Contents of the binder:

1. Three different maps: "Demarcation of Danish waters"
2. A booklet: "When Copenhagen Rose – People's Strike June–July 1944" by Michael Keldsen
3. Pamphlet: "History of Bov Municipality" written by Henrik Schou, 21.1.99
4. Photocopy of "Padborg Police District, 75 years, 1920–1995", anniversary publication
    - *first pages missing*
5. Photocopies of photographs with the title: "The Border, Southern Denmark, 1921, Customs–police–gendarme-staff in front of shed (Danish side)"
6. Photocopy of a description of the history of the Kruså border-crossing
    - *no date, no author*
7. Photocopy: "Detail map no. 1".
    - *Map of the town Frøslev with a circle around Frøslev Customs*
8. "Regarding legal and illegal crossing of the state border between BRD and DK"
    - *List of border-crossings, signed by a police assistant, without date*
9. Plastic covers with photographs from said border-crossings
10. Plastic covers with photographs of "central places" in Hamburg
    - *No further information*

Amongst the diverse papers in the binder, I took out a list of Danish–German border crossings that was accompanied by a dozen photos in plastic covers. I recalled how, when handing me the binder, Harry had mentioned this specific document, which some of his colleagues had written during the early 1990s. Looking at the document, he had started reading aloud from the descriptions:

> "*No. 7 Møllegården, located immediately west of the passport-control location in the town of Kruså, about 500 metres from the border. Access to the place can be gained as described above. Likewise, access can be gained from the gendarme pathway that leads along the border to the lake. When using the* [border-crossing], *one passes a small but tall beech-tree forest and, if* [the crossings] *no. 4, 5, and 6 have not been used, one will typically see open grass fields with tall electricity pylons and a transformer station. When leaving the* [border-crossing point], *one emerges onto* [name of a road], *which leads to Padborg on the left and, to the right, to Kruså town, a bus station, etc.*"

He stopped reading to reassure me, "*These descriptions are really good… especially for someone like you. It's almost as if you can see them* [the border-crossings]". Although Harry thought that this list was the perfect tool or device for "someone like me" (an outsider) to get to know the border, I felt quite the opposite. The descriptions were actually quite difficult for an outsider to understand due to their extreme place-specificity, which seemed to require a very close familiarity with and presence in the border's landscape. Another example of such a place-specific description is the following phrase, in which a parking spot right next to the border is identified with the note that "*there are usually always trash containers*", and *"From the German side, one will only find this border-crossing if one knows the area well or if one really wants to find it"*. Here, the suggestion is that only locals or people trying to cross without being noticed would be able to find this crossing.

Amongst the documents that Harry lent me, there was also another kind of list. It was titled: *"Specification of border-crossings at the land border after joining Schengen"*. This, too, was a list of border-crossings, and Christian wrote it during his time as a police officer; however, the wording was quite different from the earlier list:

Specification of border crossings at the land border Schengen (Gråsten and Tønder Police District) after joining Schengen, where border-crossing can be done via official roads, trains, or by ferry. (Mentioned consecutively from East to West.)

Gråsten Police District:

1. *Kollund Mole: Sailing between Flensburg and Kollund if in private boat*
2. *Skomagerhus: Open for cyclists and pedestrians*
3. *Madeskovvej, Kruså: open for cyclists and pedestrians*
4. *Kruså: Open for all traffic – except lorries*
5. *Alte Zollstrasse, Kruså: Under renovation – will be opened for cyclists and pedestrians*
6. *Oksevejen, Padborg: Open for all traffic*
7. [Etc……..][1]

According to the date at the top right-hand corner, Christian had written this list on 29 March 2001 – four days after Denmark's entry into the Schengen Agreement. Both lists were informal working documents, written by local police officers whose job it was to police the border. Christian's list describes the same physical state border as Harry's list, but another kind of information is included. The detailed descriptions of the territorial border that could be found in the first list were not part of Christian's list. The first list of border crossings – with all of its local details and insider references – was meant to help border officers orientate themselves in

[1] All translations from Danish to English is by the author

the border terrain so they could determine where trespassers were likely to attempt to illegally cross the borders. The second list only states the border's official regulations: who can pass where, and who cannot. The need for a new list just days after entering the Schengen Agreement as well as this lack of detailed information both point to the transformation and relocation of border, movements, and working methods.

Recalling what Christian and Harry had told me about being familiar with the border landscape, I realised that the two lists indicated two different ways of working with and ordering the border; they were products of two very different border-making practices. As we drove through the open land during our drive along the border, Harry and Christian called my attention to a landscape that had been turned invisible. They pointed out small roads, hiding places, look-out posts, and pick-up points – places that held important roles in the border they had policed from the 1970s through the 1990s. But with the "opening of the borders" as part of the Schengen Agreement in 2001, these places had been rendered obsolete. They told me about the long, lonely nights they had each spent at the look-out posts with a cup of coffee and a cigarette under the starry sky. Harry said:

> *"You would basically know where they'd cross. If there were high power lines, they'd follow them. Because the refugees, they don't know the* [area]*… so, they could follow the power lines. You can see them if it's a clear and starlit night (…) You would do the same if you didn't know the area – you'd have to look for a landmark, and a power line is good because it leads somewhere, and they knew that. So, we could just sit there and wait because we knew they would cross there, and then it would be like, 'Guten abend heute-leute'"*.[2]

Here, Harry explained how gazing – and waiting attentively and patiently – was part of the border-control work he used to perform; this required him to be familiar with the local landscape. However, according to both Harry and Christian, after the border was opened, this kind of familiarity with the border's landscape became obsolete. If someone wanted to illegally trespass the border, they could just take the motorway from Germany to Denmark to cross the border by car or lorry; they no longer had to traverse the fields, marshes, or small pathways of the 'green border' as trespassers had previously done when the border-crossing points had broken the main roads in two.

[2] Recorded interview, March 2015, Dybbøl, Southern Denmark

Reminiscing the border enforcement measures pre-Schengen, Danish-German border, March 2015 (all photos by author unless other is marked)

The Danish-German border and its places of relevance as per mid-1990s, Harry's private archive

Chapter 1: Introduction

My work in this dissertation examines the bordering of Europe as it is done by border officials at three different border sites in the realm of the European Union. In particular, I look at these officials' continual attempts to stabilise and pin down the borders' location and purpose. By doing so, I use the borders of Europe as a point of entry to investigate narratives of transformation and expansion, epoch-making, and space-making in the study of Europe. In particular, this dissertation is based on the field research I conducted amongst officials who work with borders within the Schengen Area and the European Union, primarily officers from the Danish police and the European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM). My empirical material consists of interviews with border officials as well as participant observations of their diverse working situations, such as those at Denmark's international airport, the Danish land border towards Germany, and EUBAM headquarters and field offices in Ukraine and Moldova combined with archival material, promotional publications, and reports.

In the Preface, I introduced two retired police officers who shared with me their memories of policing the Danish–German border in the 1980s and 1990s. As they reminisced, they painted a picture of a vanished border; since their time, previously central places had become obsolete, and their kind of 'nose for police work' or professionalism has been replaced by other ways of knowing and doing the border. Harry and Christian dated this transformation to Denmark's entry into the Schengen Agreement, an agreement that developed throughout the 1990s and 2000s and which abolished border control between European Union member states; in their view, this explained how the transformation of the border had rendered obsolete all the small pathways, trash containers, and power-lines that they knew, and it had relocated the current border officials' gaze and familiarity of the landscape.

Amidst such claims of transformation and relocation, my fieldwork explored how concerns and discussions regarding expectations, quality, and professionalism came to matter in the everyday practice of border enforcement. To where exactly did the officers' gaze relocate, and how was such a relocation brought about? What other kinds of familiarities replaced Harry and Christian's small pathways, and which skills and 'noses' did they require the current border-police officers to have? What does it mean to 'police the borders of Europe', and what is involved in doing it well? How are the tasks defined, and how are dilemmas navigated?

In this dissertation, I argue that these questions are not only concerns bureaucratic practices or police professionalism; rather, my interest is in exploring how – through their everyday conceptualisations and concerns, skills and tasks – border officials continually connect and disconnect different spatial entities (i.e., at times, a 'European Union' or a national space; at times, both), and evoke different times (pasts, presents, and futures), thereby continually relocating that which is Europe's borders. The main question that has motivated my exploration is thus: *How do border officials engage in mobilising aspirations for transformation and expansion in their everyday work of bordering Europe, and which kind of borders and Europes are generated through these mobilisations?*

The problem of defining the purpose of Europe's borders

Harry, Christian, and their colleagues were not the only ones to identify the 'Schengen Agreement' as a pivotal moment of change with regards to the recent history of borders in Europe. *"Westphalia, Vienna, Versailles, Potsdam, Maastricht ... if the history of Europe's formation as, and within, a space of territories, sovereignties, economies, and cultures can be evoked in terms of such symbolic place names then perhaps we can add to that series the name of Schengen"* (Walters 2002: 561), writes social scientist William Walters in his account on the Schengen Agreement as hallmark of the recent transformation of borders within the European Union, and he underlines both the symbolic and transformative role that altering the European state border has played. Development of the Schengen Area was the culmination of a post-World War II integration of European countries; it also launched a post-Cold War era in which a goal to overcome the European continent's divides was advanced by harmonising politics, and security and economic measures (ibid.). Emphasising the right to free movement (i.e., of people and goods) in exchange for the political promise of secure external borders, the Schengen Area was designed as a space that would be exempt from the border control of passenger and transport vehicles. The Schengen Agreement initially developed through the 1980s and 1990s with Germany, France, and the Benelux countries as the primary drivers at the intersection between visions of post-nationalism, liberalism, and regionalism (Zaiotti 2011).

The key components of the Agreement are:

1. the removal of checks on people at the internal borders;
2. a common set of rules applying to the people crossing the external borders of EU member states;

3. harmonisation of the conditions of entry and the rules on visas for short stay;
4. enhanced police cooperation
5. stronger judicial cooperation through a faster extradition system and a transfer of the enforcement of criminal judgments;
6. the establishment and development of the Schengen Information System (EU-lex 2013, EU Regulation 399/2016)

The Agreement accelerated the mobility of people and goods amongst EU member states; in terms of border management, it also paved the way for the development and reorganisation of the cooperative infrastructure regarding Customs, border control, and criminal investigation (Casella Colombeau 2017; Schwell 2008; Zaiotti 2011). This reorganisation led to a range of diverse transformational processes that impacted the participating countries symbolically, legally, and materially – from the abandonment of border-crossing points and their infrastructure, signs, and road-blocks to the removal of police or border guards. Border enforcement was reorganised and relocated elsewhere; in part, to the new common external borders. But by removing the location, object, and method of border enforcement from the borderline, it was also relocated in diverse ways both within and beyond the EU–Schengen territories (see, e.g., Lahav & Guiraudon 2000). At the end of the 2000s, the Schengen Area had grown considerably (encompassing 27 European countries) and had become one of the most concrete projects of the European cooperation. Celebrated as the unification of a divided Europe[3], the border alterings of the European Union were also criticised for building a wall around the rich and prosperous west (early academic contributions include Andreas and Snyder 2001; Balibar 2004). Thus, along with expansion and success came crisis and criticism, rendering the borders a 'hotly debated' theme, to paraphrase the Frontex-publication which I quoted above (Frontex 2014: 13).

Cultural anthropologists Sabine Hess and Bernd Kasparek have studied the fluctuating destabilisation and re-stabilisation of the Schengen cooperation throughout the 2000s and 2010s, underlining the border system as inherently conflictual (2017b). In their work, they point out three main battlefields: first, the inherent dilemma between the expansionist tendencies of neoliberal economic paradigms and the bio-political preoccupation with controlling all movement[4],

[3] The European Union was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 for its success in overcoming the 20th-century divides of the continent through a variety of measures (Manners and Murray 2016; see also Kristensen 2012).

[4] Scholars have pointed to the fact that rather than a 'dilemma' composed by two, contradictory processes, the opening of borders and erection of borders are tightly connected, e.g. Brenda Chalfin

which have sparked both geographical externalization and biometrical digitalization of border control measures (2017b: 60) through the so-called Integrated Border Management (IBM) method (Frontex 2015: 12). Second, the so-called Dublin I-III Agreements, which were developed as addenda to the Schengen Agreement specifically designated to regulate and distribute asylum seekers between EU–Schengen member countries. These agreements outlined the later very controversial principle of the 'first country of arrival', which delegates the responsibility for the processing of an asylum claim to the country in which the asylum seeker first entered. This mechanism laid the responsibility on the shoulders of southern European countries, which due to geographical facts, were most often the 'first country of arrival'. According to Hess and Kasparek, in the late-2000s, southern European countries thus lobbied for a quota system for distributing asylum seekers; and when this was rejected by the majority of European member states, a more or less explicit practice of non-registering asylum seekers began (Hess and Kasparek 2017a: 58). In the wake of major refugee arrivals to the Schengen Area in 2015 and 2016, this principle eventually led to the crumbling of the Dublin-system and the reintroduction of temporary border controls at internal borders, thereby bracketing the idea of external borders (Kasparek 2016; Hess and Kasparek 2017b). Third, these initiatives have been met with criticism, accusations, and rulings regarding violations of human rights and the right to asylum in more or less coordinated attempts of keeping refugees at bay (Hess and Kasparek 2017a, 2017b; Kasparek 2016; Gammeltoft-Hansen 2011). Consequently, both the *purpose* of Europe's borders, and the *problem* of Europe's borders remain a topic of discussion. On the one hand, the state of perpetual crisis is presented as the inability or unwillingness of southern European countries to manage the external borders; i.e., to duly register and process asylum claims in accordance with the Schengen and Dublin Agreements. On the other hand, this analysis is countered by harsh criticism that the Dublin Agreements and their logic of 'the first country of arrival' create insurmountable problems in terms of overburdened authorities and immigration infrastructures southern European countries, which in turn promotes the production of illegality because aspiring asylum seekers will try to circumvent the rules in order to reach their preferred destination. The disagreements of how to interpret the problems and purpose of Europe's borders divide both along axes of right- and left-wing politics, southern and northern European countries, and as the most recent crisis in 2015 and 2016 showed, also along the eastern and western European member states (Krastev 2017; Dzenovska 2018; see also chapter 4). In other words, within the scope of the

who describes the erection of walls and deepening of securitisation measures as an extension rather than an antidote to late-capitalism (Chalfin 2012: 295)

Schengen Agreement, the border alterings of the European Union are anything but a 'done deal'. Critical border scholars Manuela Bojadžijev and Serhat Karakayali underline that there is "no truce" within the European Union about how to operate the borders (2010: 3). It is precisely this lack of truce, unanimity, or clarity about how to border Europe – and the subsequent attempts to pin down, determine, and establish such clarity – that I take as my object of study in this dissertation. In the chapters that follow, I discuss how to go about this; in particular, by enquiring into what kind of stories and theories can be used to study such a continued lack of clarity regarding the purpose of Europe's borders.

The critical promise of studying the state and its institutions

There is a growing interest in ethnographically informed studies of border and migration management (see, e.g., Bigo 2014; Borelli and Lindberg 2018; Côté-Boucher 2016; Follis 2012; Hall 2012; Schwell 2008), and these studies are typically interested in understanding the rationales, the sense-making, and the tasks and routines of border and migration officials. Within critical migration and border studies (which I discuss further in chapter 2), the analytical lens of 'autonomy of migration' has been proposed as a way to circumvent taking a point of departure in the state, state agents, and state policies as primary influencers of the migration regime (see Bojadžijev and Karakayali 2010; Papadopoulos et al. 2008: 202ff). In this dissertation, I nevertheless locate my study of border management within state infrastructures with eyes wide open, so to speak. My intention is not to privilege the state or any state agency as a primary actor in the search for a comprehensive definition of the workings of European border system; rather, in this dissertation, I suggest two primary reasons for studying the bordering of Europe amongst border officials. First, the location is motivated by an inclination to study what I refer to here as the *infrastructure* of the European Union's member-state cooperation on border and migration. As opposed to the *flows* that this cooperation may channel or halt, the policies of management become the object of study. An ethnographic enquiry into the state with an emphasis on its bureaucracy and policies – specifically, by studying it through mundane everyday practices (Navaro-Yashin 2002) and emotional investment (Laszczkowski and Reeves 2017; Navaro-Yashin 2012) – thus highlights the state's sociality and materiality. In other words, foregrounding the state and its actors as the object of study emphasises the contested sociality, negotiations, and instabilities as object-making processes; this then illuminates the processes through which the state becomes an entity that

stands "above" society (Navaro-Yashin 2002); that can fixate the border and make territory "stick" (Reeves 2009; 2011; 2014).

In a review article of what they call the "hope boom", anthropologists Stef Jansen and Nauja Klejst (2016) observe that studies that focus on infrastructures and institutions seem to build on a sort of hope of contingency; this means that showing the contingency of state and systems contains the potential for change and for other ways of doing things (ibid.: 379). According to anthropologist Karolina S. Follis (2012), the study of infrastructures and institutions can also serve as a reminder and a warning. Explicitly playing on what she calls a "conceptual kinship" with political theorist Hannah Arendt's description of the "banality of evil" (1963), Follis suggests the notion of a "banality of exclusion" to illuminate how the migration-management industry – with its "*sanitization of language pertaining to repressive practices (for example, 'capacity building', 'migration management', 'best practices')*" (2012: 208) – renders the political invisible and thus less accountable. Combining these points, the decision to locate my study within the infrastructures of border thus balances between the potential hope for other ways of doing things, and a warning against becoming blind to politics disguised as technicalities. The combination of my interest in foregrounding 'the system' as social practice, a quest for the "banality of exclusion", and a hope that such a study can contribute critical insights that I locate my study of 'European border alterings' amongst border officials. The mundanity of the state and the "banality of exclusion" could indeed be studied not merely amongst border or police personnel but also within immigration policy work, asylum centres, amongst passport holders, or amongst citizens and non-citizens. As such, I do not intend to argue that border-police officials are necessarily more or less 'complicit' in some sort of banalisation of exclusion than the rest of society, of us. However, because they are professionally engaged in handling this 'exclusion' on a daily basis, I locate my study here; in the middle of the many claims to Europe and its borders, border officials navigate and police the borders as instruments of these symbolic and material ideas. And it is within that mess of both mundanity and exceptionalism that I begin my exploration. In the following I will provide a provisional discussion of the theoretical framework which have motivated this project. I elaborate in chapter 2.

Telling Europe through stories of ends and beginnings

The study of borders in Europe is rife with stories of ends and beginnings, and the history of the Schengen Agreement weaves together with narratives about the end of the Cold War; the end of the nation state and the end of state socialism while also claiming the beginning of the era of globalisation, Europeanisation, of the post-national or the cosmopolitan. With the era of a unified European Union, the end of history had begun (Fukuyama 1992). The end of the nation state was declared just as the new millennium arrived, a development that would inevitably lead to *"the end of the world as we know it"* (Wallerstein 2000). In addition to the many ends and beginnings in the study of Europe's borders, there has also been a predilection for divisions leading to connections: from a Europe of empires to a Europe of bounded nation states as the result of the end of World War I. As the story goes, after the end of World War II, a new era emerged in which the Iron Curtain divided East and West between socialist and capitalist states. The fall of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact in the 1990s paved the way for another new beginning and a reunification of Europe, which culminated in the expansion of the EU in 2004 and 2007 when 13 former Warsaw Pact-member countries entered the European Union and the Schengen Area.

However, these temporal and spatial hinges are not reserved for scholarly narratives. Indeed, telling Europe in terms of ends and beginnings and connections and separations goes far beyond the academy. The promotional publication "*12 Seconds to Decide – In search of excellence. Frontex and the principle of Best Practice"* (2014), published by the European Union's official agency for external borders, recounts and frames recent developments and subsequent challenges in the following way:

> *"In 2004, when the European Union expanded from 15 to 25 member states, extending its borders hundreds of kilometres to the east, it became the largest economic and political bloc the world has ever seen (…) And that created a challenge: because to the billions of less fortunate people of the world, the prosperous and stable democracies of the EU had never looked a more attractive destination (…). These challenges range from referring asylum claims, to search and rescue at sea to tackling trans-national crime. Coupled with the threat of political violence in Europe and the unpredictable and often sudden nature of global changes, not unnaturally many Europeans look to their external borders as an important element of their safety. Whether they are right to do so is hotly debated, and goes to the heart of a*

> *deeper question that will have to be answered as the world's population grows ever larger and younger, and the EU continues to expand:* ***what is Europe's place in the world?"*** (Frontex 2014: 8-13, my emphasis)

This is a well-known story: the expansion, the dilemmas, the challenges, and the urgency, and what is intriguing in this context about this text from Frontex is that it resembles the language that academics use. It contains causes and effects and temporal progressions, and essentially, Frontex poses the same question as the critical scholarship which I had been reading, and was interested in engaging with in this dissertation project: *What do we learn about Europe's place in the world by looking at the management of its borders?* The promotional publication's text continues: *"Whatever the answer (…), the nations of Europe have been obliged for the first time to start thinking of their external borders not as individual states, but collectively (…) This is where Frontex comes in."* (ibid.: 13). However, the question I explore throughout this chapter is: where does a cultural analysis come into all of this? What, if anything, falls between Frontex's stories (and its narratives of ends and beginnings, and tales of expansion that overcomes divides)? Could we not throw a spanner in the works and try to cultivate connections or temporalities that break with this particular story of progression and accelerated connections?

"What if the global was small and incoherent?"

In a discussion of the size and complexity within narratives about globalisation, science and technology studies (STS) scholar John Law asks, "*What if the global was small and incoherent?*", before going on to explore the location of 'the Russians' in the construction of British war planes during the 1950s (Law 2004). By locating the 'global' and 'the enemy' right there in the middle of the very performance of global, he suggests challenging the scales of global and local, urging scholars to configure the 'global' in terms other than simply looking up to grasp it in all of its 'large' and 'interconnection'. Rather, he urges an approach that looks *down* into the "ponds of ponds" to see the complexity within (ibid.: 19). Anthropologist Anna Tsing suggests a similar approach. In her article "The Global Situation" (2000), which was written at the culmination of economic, political, and scholarly fascination with globalisation, she proposes a way to study 'the global' without getting lost in what she refers to as its "charisma" (ibid.: 328). Pondering whether to compare 'globalisation' as a process to that of (mid-20th century developmental) 'modernisation', she warns that scholars of globalisation should avoid being carried away by the promises of globalisation in a way that would remove their critical eye for the sizes, scales, and worlds that globalisation rhetoric produces. In

other words, Tsing asserts, globalisation makes scholars aware of interconnectedness while it also draws us inside its rhetoric, making us blind to its internal assumptions. Tsing argues that the problem is that *"we describe the landscape imagined within* [globalisation] *rather than the politics and cultures of scale making"* (ibid.: 330). She thus proposes an analytical approach that maintains an interest in and valuing of the interconnectedness of practices while at the same time remaining attentive to globalist wishes and fantasies (ibid.: 330). According to Tsing, the task is to locate and specify globalist projects and dreams – *"with their contradictory as well as charismatic logics and their messy as well as effective encounters and translations"* (ibid.). This is what I set out to do in this dissertation. Taking notions of transformation and expansion as the 'globalist projects and dreams' that structure the work of the border officials I encountered during my field research. In particular, I present four analyses that build on various situations of working with the border, discussing the border, making sense of the border, and attemptings to transform the border – both within its landscape and beyond.

Structure of the dissertation's chapters

In the Preface I presented a story about the narratives, anecdotes, and documents that two former border police officers, Harry and Christian, shared with me during my field research. This story worked as a prism through which the main interests of this dissertation could materialise. Like Harry's yellow binder, this dissertation is a collection and holding together of various stories about borders; throughout the dissertation's chapters, some of these are selected and studied in detail, while others are left aside. This collection of stories are concerned with the narratives, practices, and conceptualisations of transformation, of preoccupations and skill that border-police officers working within the realm of the European Union–Schengen borders shared with me during interviews and conversations, gate-checks, and police patrols. Just as I compared the two different lists that Harry lent to me, throughout the dissertation, I compare and relate the different narratives and conceptualisations, the now and then, the here and there, that were shared with me during the fieldwork.

In *Chapter 2, Literature review and theoretical framework,* I introduce three predominant temporal and spatial frameworks within critical migration and border studies in order to frame my decision to theoretically emphasise temporal and spatial multiplicity in the analytical chapters. Furthermore, I present the three central analytical takes which have enabled me to structure the dissertation's

analytical chapters through an attention to relative locations (Green 2005), critical events (Reeves 2016), and the comparative promise of borders (Andersen et al. 2015: 462).

In *Chapter 3, 'An Arbitrary Europe', and how to study it*, I present the three main sites in which I conducted field research. I discuss how I bound these sites together in an uneven Europe, which supports the idea that there is no place from which to grasp the entirety of the European borders or to present a representative example of European borders. Instead, the design of my fieldwork emphasised the bordering of Europe as a continual process of binding together and separating from each other certain places and entities. In this chapter, I also discuss the "knowledge loops" (Hess 2010) and hierarchies of relevance with which I engaged during my fieldwork, particularly in the continual negotiation of access. Before transitioning to the dissertation's analytical chapters (chapters 4 to 7), I outline the claims and insights that I seek to contribute with my work in this dissertation; specifically, with how I define fieldwork material as other than evidence, and critique as other than revealing.

In *Chapter 4, EU borders for peacetime only? Bridging gaps and making-same as border strategies,* I invite the reader to travel with me beyond the territories of the EU's Schengen Area to the borderland between Moldova and Ukraine. Here, the European Union Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) is engaged in transforming and reordering the borderline between two former Soviet republics. In the first part of this chapter, I explore the methodological gaps that EUBAM staff identified, and the methods they presented to the Moldovan–Ukrainian authorities as a way to plug these gaps. The chapter attempts to both understand the export of European Union border standards to a nearby neighbourhood, and to clarify those same European Union standards as they are spelt out in big letters as the future of border enforcement. The chapter considers the work of ensuring 'good and efficient borders' through methods of transformation and the ordering of past, present, and future. In the second part of the chapter, however, I describe how two different kinds of "critical events" (Reeves 2016) relativized the universality of border as a project of bridging gaps and promoting same-making.

Chapter 5, "In search of excellence": holding together 'the borders of Europe': The Europeanisation of border enforcement is not a straightforward matter. Besides the harmonisation of legislation and regulations, it involves tricky things such as work cultures, expectations, trust, and shared responsibilities. In this chapter, I continue to examine the processes of transformation, expansion, and collaboration that I addressed in chapter 4, but here I focus on studying practices of border-

enforcement harmonisation across EU–Schengen member states. My analysis builds on the accounts of two Danish border professionals, who shared with me their everyday conceptualisations about how to align the many diverse demands to enhance the quality of the border, such as respecting the sovereignty of each member state and its border authorities, promoting best practices and cooperation amongst member states, or providing secure and efficient border control while simultaneously adhering to the Fundamental Rights charter. My analysis describes the alignment and sense-making work of these two border officials as well as how the many conflicting demands and claims sparked their moments of reflection and discussion about the differences and the problematics inherent in the bordering of Europe.

Chapter 6, "Never enough resources": in search of the sealable border addresses the scholarly and political concerns regarding the porosity of the Schengen Area's external borders and the subsequent need to further improve enforcement measures. This need has continued throughout the past few decades of increased border cooperation within the European Union, but it has accelerated more recently due to a larger number of illegal border-crossings and asylum claims. In this chapter, I approach this concern through an analysis of several recent resource allocations that the Danish police and the Danish government have initiated with regards to border enforcement. Based on my fieldwork amongst Danish police officers at Copenhagen Airport and at the Danish–German border, I discuss how police officers' desperate cry for more resources performs a deep criticism of the current level of border control and simultaneously sustains an idea about the border as sealable. I suggest understanding this simultaneity through the psychoanalytical notion of a fantasy (Navaro-Yashin 2002), which despite cynical deconstruction of the border, also reproduces it.

Chapter 7, Re-establishing "peace and order": reintroducing border control at the Danish border takes its point of departure in the immediate aftermath of the 2015 European migratory crisis in order to analyse crisis and normalcy. As the Danish Prime Minister announced, the introduction of temporary border control (which broke with the 'borderless Europe' of the past decades) promised to ensure 'peace and order' at the Danish borders. Taking his words as starting point, I explore the curious 'peace and order' that followed the turbulent times that resulted from an unprecedented amount of migratory movements combined with a lack of capacity amongst the EU–Schengen member states and their authorities to respond to these. After having to "fight with grown-up men" to force migratory families to register in the EU asylum-seeker databases, police officers suddenly found themselves at a border that was completely empty of anyone else but themselves and their many

posted colleagues. By exploring the police officers' everyday speculations and attempts to determine how best to police the reintroduced borderline, I describe how the reintroduction of border control put on hold the unravelling of Europe's geography, and how the location of Denmark within Europe – as a peaceful place devoid of chaos – was re-established; however, with a sense of disproportion and a lack of recognisable context.

Together, the four analytical chapters engage with everyday conceptualisations and practices regarding modes of transformation, and how to nurture quality, scale expectations, and ensure professionalism amongst the border officials involved in the bordering of Europe. By exploring how these concerns came to matter amongst border officials, the analytical chapters provide insight into the continual attempts to stabilise and pin down the borders' location and purpose. Thus, my work in these chapters suggests how 'the borders of Europe' are continuously located and relocated, connected and disconnected through such attempts. The dissertation ends with *chapter 8, "Try to look to the future": conclusions*, which summarises the previous chapters and discusses the dissertation's analytical contributions to the field in light of the urgency and topicality with which borders, migration, and Europe are increasingly approached.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

While grounded in the discipline of ethnology, my work in this dissertation is also in dialogue with the multidisciplinary field of border and migration studies. The study of borders and migration has grown in tandem with an increased political focus on migration movement and border management over the past decades. In particular, 'migration' has been a keyword within strategic research in the past two decades, which has led to the establishment of many multidisciplinary research centres (e.g., Centre for Advanced Migration Studies (AMIS), University of Copenhagen; Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford; Institute for Migration & Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam; Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare, Malmö University – to name just a few prominent European research centres). These centres are often multidisciplinary and encompass the disciplines of sociology, economics, anthropology, political science, and philosophy with a focus on issues related to the socio-economic integration of immigrants into society, minority/majority encounters at various levels, and migrants' everyday lives. In general, the object of study is the interaction between the movement and livelihood of people across, beyond, or along state boundaries (Anderson and Keith 2014).

A related, although less institutionally embedded, field is that of border studies. In the *Companion to Border Studies* (2012), border scholars Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson present the emergence of border studies as a field of study in the 1990s as a reaction to a too narrow focus on how globalisation has facilitated movement (2012: 5). Instead of following flows and the withering of nation states, Donnan and Wilson – together with a growing number of border scholars – turn to the continued role that borders play in structuring people's lives and movements across the global (ibid.). Likewise, in another companion to border studies from 2011, border scholar Doris Wastl-Walter departs from the assumption that the prevalence of the notion *'a borderless world'* in political and scholarly jargon during the late 1990s and early 2000s was a strictly Western European preoccupation that ignored the establishment of borders around the world (Wastl-Walter 2011: 2). Under the headline 'border studies', these two companion publications bundle together themes such as theorising borders, geopolitics, relations between state, nation, and territory, border enforcement, the role of borders in a borderless world, and borders as markers of identity (Wilson & Donnan 2012; Wastl-Walter 2012).

Amidst these diverse works and their many pathways to approaching border and migration processes, in the following discussion of the dissertation's theoretical framework, I focus specifically on a discussion about the predominant spatial and temporal frameworks within border and migration studies. I do this first by exploring the scholarly appeal to focus on 'practice', which I do through a discussion about its connection to 'a greater whole'. Second, I examine how a predilection for the concept 'border regime' emphasises connection to such a degree that we might lose sight of constitutive differences and non-connections. Finally, I explore the location of complexity through a discussion of the epochal framework of border and migration studies, suggesting instead that there is a need to pay analytical attention to the temporality and simultaneity of borders (cf. Green 2010; Reeves 2016).

Spatial and temporal frameworks of border and migration studies

Wedged between the two multidisciplinary fields of migration studies and border studies, a number of academics refer to themselves as 'critical border and migration scholars', and they stress the need to critically examine common conceptualisations of the relationship between state, migration, and borders. By suggesting the term *'new border imaginaries'* (Parker et al. 2014: 728), which can *'de-sediment'* the *'petrified and domesticated vocabulary'* of popular discourse and debate (Casas-Cortes 2014: 56), their goal is to *"create a radical shift of perspective"* (Parizot et al. 2014: 503), and *'de-naturalize'* the power–knowledge regime surrounding migration (Hess 2012: 18). Such calls put the categorisation and localisation of 'the object of study' at the centre of their academic inquiry, and aim to challenge the usual definitions of migration and borders. By doing so, the field brings together studies about the lived experiences, tactics, and practices of aspiring or illegal migrants, the reorganisation of the relationship between state and non-state, the territorial rescaling of state power, and border-enforcement strategies and policy-making. Thus, the field points to a need to study these processes in order to gain new insights about how borders and migration shape contemporary societies.[5]

Taken together, this scholarship suggests that the borders of the European Union – and the movements that the borders seek to manage – cannot be adequately

[5] For studies of clandestine migration related to European Union member states, see, e.g., Bendixen 2016, and Richter 2016. For work on activist, humanitarian, or professional helping organisations, see Rozakou 2012, and Cabot 2014. For discussions of policing or controlling migration, see Bigo 2014, Dzenovska 2018, Follis 2012, and for the construction of a 'migration business' through policies and knowledge production, see Anderson 2014, Gammeltoft-Hansen et al. 2013, Mountz 2010).

grasped by simply pointing to a dichotomy between inside and outside, or by examining a release of control within the European Union at the expense of strengthening the external borders (Andersen and Sandberg 2012: 2–3). A large body of scholarship is thus dedicated to classifying and mapping how the borders of the 21st century work by directly or indirectly putting the term 'borders' in quotation marks, and rejecting it as suitable term. Instead, the scholars opt for metaphors such as *border regime* (cf. De Genova 2017; Hess and Kasparek 2017a, 2017b), *borderscapes* (Brambilla 2014; Lemberg-Pedersen 2012), or *bordering practices* (Parker and Adler-Nissen 2009) – words that emphasise how borders work through networks, zones, and filtering mechanisms in a post-Cold War, globalised world. To paraphrase William Walters, European borders have been constructed as a sort of firewall that meticulously filters between who can enter and who cannot (Walters 2006), and other scholars have discussed how the borders of the European Union reach both well within and far beyond the territories of the Schengen area (e.g., Lemberg-Pedersen 2012). This scholarship has also illuminated other central aspects of 21st-century borders, which are increasingly an externalisation of border procedures to neighbouring countries (Bialasiewisz 2011; Jansen 2009), outsourcing to private companies (Lemberg-Pedersen 2013), integration into other realms of migration policies, such as language and marriage policies (Gutekunst 2018), the precariousness of life (Schindel 2015), and the securitisation of migration (Mountz 2010).

Practice as detail? Micro, macro, and vice versa.

In the introduction to a special issue of the academic journal, *Security Dialogue* titled "Border security as practice: An agenda for research" (2014), border scholars Karine Côté-Boucher, Federica Infantino, and Mark B. Salter suggest an ethnographic approach to border and security studies as an addition to a field of study otherwise heavily dominated by policy analysis (2014: 197). The authors argue that legislation and policies are not easily and smoothly implemented from above, and they suggest that research must consider that policies have to interact with already-existing legislation as well as specific organisational settings and cultures (2014: 198). By focusing on everyday classification and knowledge production, the authors suggest 'contextualising' and 'nuancing' the study of border security through ethnographic attention to the daily work tasks, roles, strategies, routines, resources, struggles, and local classifications and forms of tacit knowledge (ibid.: 202). They encourage future research on border enforcement to put more focus on how policy is *"implemented, altered and renegotiated"* (ibid.: 199)

with an aim to show *"the intermissions and tensions between rationalities and actions, discourse and practice"* (ibid.). In this dissertation, I also take the everyday practices of border officials as a point of departure in my analysis. To do so, I combine an ethnological emphasis on everyday practices (e.g. Jespersen et al. 2017) and a growing interest in ethnographically-informed studies of the infrastructure of the border and migration management as well as the study of border officials; I thus very much share an interest with the scholars mentioned above in the everyday practices of border officials as power brokers. However, what is it exactly that is 'nuanced' and 'contextualized' by ethnographic detail?

In studies of the changing roles of border officers and the interplay between different generation of border officers, Côté-Boucher studies the sense-making, the tasks and the modes of transformation of Canadian custom's and border officers (2016; 2018), and she argues, ultimately, that her studies provide insight into the subjectivities of the border officers and thus the way in which they encounter the border they police (2018: 165), and that the changing way of organizing custom's control has changed, too, the role of the custom's officer process of decision-making (2016: 49). In her studies, Coté-Boucher adds an often over-looked emphasis on temporal and spatial differences in the everyday work of migration and border control, however, what I want to point to here is that by staging the officers and their subjectivities as other than the border they police; 'practice' is staged as a detail illuminating the greater whole; or, specifically, the border, which is left not directly affected or altered by the practice of the border officials. A similar sort of logic is at play in ethnologist Sabine Hess study of a European migration policy organisation, which she refers to as a *"typical European actor of the transformation of European migration policy"* (2010: 98). Hess describes the organisation's informal policy styles and rationalisation techniques as "micro-practices" of contemporary migration governance, and discusses how the organisation's historical development is "*closely linked with the specific history of the Europeanization of migration policy and vice versa"* (ibid.).

With regards to this scholarship, I want to point out two things: first, these ethnographic studies of state and bureaucracy offer insight into the mechanisms of the state by describing how state, bureaucracy, and policymaking are also sites for sociality and cultural processes. As such, they reject the "structural effect" in which the state becomes seen as something above or beyond society (Navaro-Yashin 2002: 2–5). Secondly, they do however, simultaneously, seem to somehow reproduce the notions of practice as detail, and an unspecified relationship between micro and macro processes. Hess points to the relationship between policy and Europeanisation by adding a "vice versa" between transformation

processes and the actors of transformation (2010: 98). This configuration of the relationship between states and what we learn something about puts the questions into some kind of cause-and-effect framework. Does 'micro' define the 'macro', or is the 'micro' a mere reflection of what is possible within the 'macro'? (And where then would such 'macro-practices' take place if the state is also comprised of micro-practices?) Do 'subjectivities' transform the border system, or is it the other way around? In this dissertation, I attempt to find a method for studying this relationship between 'practice' and 'the greater whole'. Following Anna Tsing and John Law, who I presented in the introduction, it is, perhaps precisely, 'the greater whole' that we study when we study policy or street-level decision-makers through practice. However, before I further explore this approach, in the next section, I discuss a suggestion for how to overcome the micro/macro divides that are dominant within critical border and migration studies.

The connections and confines of the border regime

Within critical migration and border studies, the predominant way of circumventing a micro/macro divide is to approach the study of movement and borders in Europe in terms of a border regime or migration regime. The border regime has been defined as a *"space of negotiating practices"*, which is formed by *"a multitude of actors whose practices relate to each other, without, however, being ordered in the form of a central logic or rationality"* (Tsianos et al. 2010: 375). This border regime is often described as an assemblage that is negotiated through complex interactions and connections on multiple scales and among multiple actors. In that regard, the border regime approach confronts the dichotomies of macro/micro, cause/effect, and global/local by suggesting that everything is connected, and thereby must be studied as such. In other words, the border regime approach calls for a study that encapsulates an entirety of actors and, rather than 'studying up', the regime approach attempts to bridge the actor–structure deadlock of studies that overemphasise state actors as the primary disseminators of power. As a way to overcome state-centred analyses in which the state stands as the sole distributor of power and agency, many critical border and migration scholars have turned to the concept of "autonomy of migration" (Transit Migration 2007; Bojadžijev et al. 2010; De Genova 2017), which stresses the agency and productive role of migrants in the border regime; it further suggests that research should always take its point of departure in the right to movement.[6] The border regime approach allows for

[6] In the wake of the Syrian refugee crisis in the mid-2010s, this concept was criticised for "romanticizing migration" and for being empirically proved wrong in that the European Union

both practices to be more than simply nuance, and seeks to overcome the 'structural effect' of locating power strictly within the domain of the state and state actors. Furthermore, this approach presents a powerful representation of how borders are co-constituted by a range of actors, such as refugees, migrants, NGOs, or the private-security industry, and how they unfold in a variety of locations, such as asylum camps, detention centres, airports, or urban spaces (see, e.g., Rumford 2006; Hess 2012; Gammeltoft-Hansen et al. 2012). Critical border and migration scholars have also pointed to the apparent incongruence between the focus on border enforcement, and the actual number of refugees and asylum seekers that such control intends to counter. The term 'border spectacle' has been suggested to capture the spiralling effects of border control (De Genova 2002, 2013), and anthropologist Ruben Andersson points to the "absurdity" found in the construction of walls and the immense rescue operations that follow the construction of walls (2014: 273ff). Border regime studies thus powerfully highlight the knowledge–power nexus that upholds current border and migration practices; however, these studies also present a picture of a system in which all practices, despite the fact that *"the border constitutes a site of constant encounter, tension, conflict and contestation"* (Casas-Cortes et al. 2015: 69), somehow relate to the same web of practices, which then contribute to the same neoliberal, 'absurd' border spectacle. In that sense, nothing is beyond the regime, and nothing is beside it. Thus, in some such definitions, singularity has a spectral presence, which risks painting a singular picture of an all-encompassing border regime that presupposes actors', places', and practices' relation to the regime prior to an actual inquiry into the connection between those things.

In an attentive and poetic analysis of contemporary American society, transformed by globalisation and late-liberalism, anthropologist Kathleen Steward notes that, *"The notion of a totalized system, of which everything is always already somehow a part, is not helpful (to say the least) in the effort to approach a weighted and reeling present. (…) This is not to say that the forces these systems try to name are not real and literally pressing. On the contrary, I am trying to bring them into view as a scene of immanent force, rather than leave them looking like dead effects imposed on an innocent world"* (Steward 2007: 1). Despite the obvious differences between both topic and genre, I will, however, allow myself to use Steward's observation as a sort of stepping stone to put parentheses around the otherwise much-used concept of 'border

border and migration measures did in fact manage to stop movement (Scheel 2015). Although I am cautious about applying the concept of "autonomy of migration", it is less because of such a romanticisation or normative insistence on the "freedom of movement of the human species" (De Genova 2017: 5); rather, my hesitance is because of the holism implied in a discussion about whether freedom of movement or the enforcement of borders is the genuine point of departure.

regime', and to look at the borders of Europe in ways other than as *always already somehow a part* of a regime. In the following section, I suggest instead a focus on the practices of connection and disconnecting throughout the dissertation; of relating and separating entities without trying to collect these processes within any singular concept.

Practice as performativity and border as multiple

In their studies of European borderlands, ethnologists Marie Sandberg and Dorte Andersen suggest such a pathway for studying the European border regime. Emphasising performativity and multiplicity, Andersen and Sandberg build on the field of Science and Technology Studies (STS), which approaches objects (in this case, Europe, the border, the state) as performed through heterogeneous and socio-material networks, and patterns of absence and presence (Sandberg 2009: 108, 111). In other words, the object of study is performed or enacted. Here, I am interested in elucidating how this understanding of practice as performative does not merely serve to 'nuance' or 'contextualise' a greater whole; rather, the 'greater whole' is constantly made up of different, divergent, colliding, and aligning modes of ordering the border (cf. Sandberg 2009a, 2009b).[7] Building on STS scholar Annemarie Mol's book *The Body Multiple* (2002), Andersen and Sandberg propose studying the borders of Europe through the lens of multiplicity, which *"refers not simply to diversity but points to the fact that the different ways any given object or phenomenon is handled also enact specific versions of it; slightly different versions, a multiple reality"* (2012: 7). Both scholars develop these thoughts in their respective studies of the Polish–German (Sandberg 2009a, 2009b, 2012) and the Slovene–Croatian borders (Andersen 2012). As they discuss, the borderlands are enacted through networks and, rather than relying on pre-given definitions of the constitutive elements, boundaries, connections, and separations, the very goal of their enquiries is to explore what, how, and when an object comes to matter (both figuratively and literally). In that sense, 'practice' is not the opposite of the standard, and practice is not merely the details that comprise a greater whole; practice is the doing of the object, and the stabilisation (or attempts to stabilise). By working with John Law's analytical figure of 'absence and presence', Sandberg studies how different versions of the border coexist in a twin German–Polish town

[7] Within critical border and migration studies, a performative approach to borders has also been suggested; however, this sort of performativity emphasises the processual and non-natural aspect of borders (e.g., Salter 2012). For a discussion of performativity as multiplicity – and not performance in a Goffmanian sense – see Sandberg 2009b.

(Sandberg 2009a, 2009b, 2012). Taking a similar point of departure, Andersen studies the Slovene–Croatian border as simultaneously territorial, ideological, and indeterminate (Andersen 2012). The different – and at times contradictory – versions of the border coexist: the border is not *either* present *or* absent, *either* territorial *or* ideological; it can be both-and, and the analytical interest is to study under which conditions the border is what, and how the different versions of border coexist, collide, or align with each other. In this regard, different modes of bordering are not conflated into aspects of the same logic of border; instead, the differences, tensions, and incompatibilities are kept foregrounded throughout the analysis. This brings me back to the relationship between the 'local' and the 'global', and 'practice' and 'the greater whole'. With practice as performativity instead of detail, the relation between where to study, how to study, and why we study is redirected because practice not simply plays a role as 'detail' or 'nuance' that reflects the greater whole or the global forces; rather, practice refers to socio-material enactments of different versions of an object multiple (cf. Mol 2002).

Practical encounters and where to study the global?

In order to further clarify what such a focus on multiplicity might entail in terms of analysis, I return to the work of Anna Tsing, whose argument of attending to the politics of scale-making so as to not mirror the rhetoric of language, connections, and objects of globalisation rhetoric, I presented in the introduction. In the book *Friction – an Ethnography of Global Connections* (2005), Tsing develops this idea into a pathway for ethnographically studying the "work of the universal" as it is generated through practical encounters (ibid.: 1). Leaving aside abstract discussions about and definitions of the universal, Tsing wants to study how universals (i.e., universally-aspiring projects, such as globalisation, capitalism, freedom, or progression) work in particular times and places through friction. This involves taking the *"travel of the universal aspiration as an ethnographic object"* (ibid.: 7). Studying the aspiration for global connections as it gets to work in the Indonesian rainforests where a rubber industry meets environmentalists and people trying to sustain their livelihood, Tsing presents a range of methods for studying how universal aspirations become productive: e.g., tracing scale-making projects in which universal projects stage the yardsticks by which they measure their own success; studying the axiom of unities, which refers to the specific modes of comparing and separating that universal projects work through; and attending to the gaps through which universals do not manage to travel well. Tsing proposes her method for studying global connections as a way to circumvent existing

frameworks of analysis in which 'the local' serves as either resistance to the global or is subjected to a hegemonic global structure, thereby reproducing the ideas of local specificity and global forces (ibid.: 4). What Tsing argues instead is that such a division of local and global is the product of a very specific understanding of global connections. In Tsing's universe, the work of the universal will always be aspirational in the sense that it will never be complete or all-encompassing, and it can never fulfil the promise of universality (ibid.: 7–8). She writes, *"Through friction, universals become practically effective. Yet they can never fulfill their promises of universality. Even in transcending localities, they don't take over the world"* (2005: 8). As Tsing emphasises in her more recent work, *The Mushroom at the End of the World* (2015), universal aspirations do not sweep over and eradicate what was previously in place. Earlier projects linger on, and things can grow from their ruins. The analytical task is then not to describe the universal project as hegemonic, but rather to bring it forth by examining moments and encounters in which universal aspirations are muddled together with aspirations from other times or places. Before I further elaborate on this notion of temporality as simultaneity, in the next section, I provide a brief overview of recurrent temporal tropes within border and migration studies.

Eras and epochal shifts: "21st-century borders" and the need for new categories

There seems to be two kinds of 'newness' at stake within the field of critical border and migration studies. First, there is the drive to develop new concepts by rethinking and reworking understandings of border, especially in order to break with the terminology of both the state and migration-management actors (Follis 2012: 208; Duvell 2009: 339–340). However, there is also a sort of empirical newness at play as a new empirical phenomenon emerges, which thereby drives the call for new concepts. In the manifest 'New Keywords: migration and borders' (Casas-Cortes et al. 2014), the authors state: *"Far from flattening the world and reducing the significance of borders, the contemporary social regime of capital has multiplied borders and the rights they differentially allocate across populations"* (ibid.: 57). A similar double-newness is suggested in the work of border scholars Noel Parker and Nick Vaughen-Williams (2009). In their research agenda for critical border studies, *Lines in the Sand? An Agenda for Critical Border Studies*, they state: *"Our programme of discussion is inspired by the awareness that the relation between borders and territory is becoming ever more complex"* (ibid.: 583), and they explain that the immediate task of critical border studies is to *"extrapolate new border concepts, logics and imaginaries*

that capture the changing perspective on what borders are supposed to be and where they may be supposed to lie" (ibid.). The implicit and at times explicit 'other' in these manifests and agendas for critical research is the border as a 'line in the sand' (Parker et al. 2009), or the wall metaphor (Casas-Cortes et al. 2014: 57), which is argued to belong to the era of the nation state. The complex and re-territorialised contemporary border, on the other hand, is defined as belonging to a new and different knowledge regime; this breaks with the Westphalian-state ideal that defined borders in terms of lines, and demanded congruence between state and territory. In these research agendas and manifests, 21st-century borders are presented as something that qualitatively differs from past modes of bordering; thus, there is a need for new concepts to classify and critique contemporary bordering processes. With regards to my focus in this dissertation – especially my interest in describing the everyday practices of border officials within a framework of transformation, standardisation, and expansion – this scholarship prompts the questions: what are the analytical implications of understanding borders in terms of paradigms that replace each other on a progressive timeline; and which perspectives might be gained from approaching the border differently?

Several scholars have remarked that an inclination towards epochal thinking within border and migration studies is a general feature of globalisation studies (cf. Favell 2001; O'Dowd 2009). For example, in a polemical comment on border studies, sociologist Liam O'Dowd laments the fact that contemporary border studies seem to have a habit of conjuring up a picture of a past in which there was complete congruence between state and nation, and he points to the fragility of the connection between 'complexity' and 'now' by pointing out the lack of stable nation states and national borderlines in the so-called 'era of nation states'. He claims that border studies tend to conflate the ideal type or the aspiration for congruence between state and territory with actual politics. O'Dowd stresses that the consequence of epochal thinking within border studies is an exaggerated simplification of the past as well as an incapacity to recognise the *"past in the present"*, and thus to capture what is distinctive in current complexity and globality (ibid.: 1032). O'Dowd further argues that, by absorbing potential differences or counter-narratives into the discourse of 'newness', a desire to describe and understand the reconfiguration of power in contemporary societies has led to the eradication of deviance from the norm. Furthermore, he asserts that epochal thinking reproduces a teleological concept of time in which the European Union and Europe, having entered the era of post-national state borders, are (once again) at the forefront of a unilinear development. Even if most border and migration scholars would probably agree that there never was a time of total congruence

between nation, state and territory in the paradigm of the borderline, it remains nevertheless an analytical challenge to keep both past and present sufficiently complex, and to study change and transformation without simplifying the past by overemphasising contrasts.

Historically informed studies hold the potential to oppose the understanding of a 'now' as more complex and interconnected than a static 'before'. In ethnologists Fredrik Nilsson and Johan A. Lundin (2015) study of liquor smuggling at sea between Denmark and Sweden in the 1920s and 1930s, they illustrate how bordering was a complex, heterogeneous, socio-material network that brought together smugglers, custom authorities, vessels, speed, darkness, and technology (ibid.). Similarly, in her study of the differentiation work conducted by the League of Nations after World War I, anthropologist Jane Cowan outlines the immense inter-national coordination that was put into making national borders (Cowan 2008). These historical studies all suggest that the border *as such* is a complex, networked, and negotiated concept that comes into being through acts of relating and separating. Moreover, they imply that complexity is not empirically located in a specific time period, but can be applied as an analytical framework that emphasises the processes of separating and relating space. Ultimately, this approach paves the way for approaching epochal definitions as an object of study rather than an empirical background.

Tidemarks, palimpsests, and ruinations: the multiple layers of border

The relocation of complexity does not indicate that theories of border do not change over time. Indeed, according to anthropologist Sarah Green, borders are classificatory systems that do not divide or connect in the same way at all times. In line with the vast field of literature, I discussed above, Sarah Green's work shows how dominant concepts of border have changed from the empire to the nation state and post-Cold War borders (2010; 2012). As she writes, empires aspired to divide in terms of centres and peripheries; nation states aspired to divide in terms of borderlines; and the European Union and post-Cold War borders tend to develop through zones and networked borders (2012). However, Green proposes that we see these as theories of border, not as ontological borders (2018: 71), and she emphasises the need to think about these theories not in epochal or epistemic terms but with an awareness of the practices that 'linger on', and to look for the coexistence of different senses of border (2010: 264).

In *Lines, Traces and Tidemarks* (2018), Green suggests thinking about the coexistence of such past and present practices in terms of traces or tidemarks in order to capture the 'lingering on' – both materially and ideologically – of previous theories of border.[8] Inspired by the Derridarian reading of 'trace', Green defines a trace as the lack of something that has already been there (2018: 77). The metaphor of a 'tidemark' adds a spatial dimension to the temporal trace inasmuch as a tidemark leaves a spatial mark (in the sand, so to speak), and thus captures *"where things have got to so far, in the multiple, unpredictable, power-inflected, imagined and visceral way that everyday life tends to occur"* (ibid.: 81). Green describes these multiple layers through an account of a particular practice that she came across in the Turkish harbour town of Ayvalik near the Aegean Sea. The Greek–Turkish border now divides this area but, until the 1920s, it was a region within the Ottoman Empire. The transition from empire to nation state involved a remarkable population exchange that relocated all Muslims from Greek territory and all Greek Orthodox Christians from Turkish territory, forcing them to leave their houses and villages, and to relocate to the others' left-behind houses on their newly designated side of the border.[9] Green recounts how, during her fieldwork in the 2000s – and in the midst of the traces and tidemarks of these previous separations and relations – she encountered Muslim Turks who, in times of grief or difficulty, would tie handkerchiefs to an old Greek Orthodox church in Ayvalik in order to receive help from a Greek Orthodox saint who was believed to have performed miracles all over the Aegean region. This account shows how traces linger on, both in architecture and practice – and in spite of official state definitions of border. Green stresses that the central point of the story, however, is that no-one tied handkerchiefs to the church *before* the line was drawn between present-day Turkey and Greece. But by doing it now, in times of a national order of things, the Muslim Turks' practice of tying handkerchiefs to the church's iron bars evoked the *"previous relations and order of things which had existed in this place"* (2010: 270).

Similar to Green's 'tidemark', geographers Mike Crang and Penny Travlou suggest the 'palimpsest' as a way to illustrate the multiplicity in relations of time and space in their study of Athens' temporality (Crang and Travlou 2001). On a piece of re-used parchment or writing material (i.e., a palimpsest), what was written earlier might or might not reappear through the new writings that have replaced it. The materiality of such multiple layers is also the object of interest in anthropologist Yael Navaro-Yashin's work on nation-building and international borderlines in

[8] Revised version of the unpublished working paper, "Lines, Traces and Tidemarks: reflections on forms of borderli-ness" (Green 2009).

[9] For a compilation of studies of the Greek-Turkish compulsory people exchange, see Hirschon, R. (Ed.). (2003).

the unrecognised state of Northern Cyprus (Navaro-Yashin 2012). Through the concept of 'ruinations', Navaro-Yashin brings attention to that which current regimes may disregard but which does not necessarily disappear or cease to matter. The past is evoked through material remnants, debris, and leftovers, which serve as moments of reminiscence and also play a role in the constitution of an affective environment that conditions possible, future practices (ibid.: 129ff).

Such attention to gaps, ruinations, and palimpsests helps to show how different theories of border (cf. Green 2010) have different aspirations, and how they strive to categorise, separate, and connect in distinct ways. However, even if all of these approaches need to, in some way, heuristically carve out the differences between the 'now' and 'then' or 'here' and 'there' to make this point, in my understanding, they all suggest that divisions as such cannot be made. The past does not come back to *haunt* the present (cf. de Certeau 1985: 143), and there are no 'gaps' in which nothing lives. Rather, the present is not *other* from the past, and gaps only occur from certain vantage points. This is reflected in geographer Doreen Massey's notion of space as *'a simultaneity of stories-so-far'* (Massey 2005: 12; see also Green 2010, 2012), a concept that captures how together different times, practices, aspirations, and failures all condition the possibilities of future practices. As such, the object of study (e.g., space, a universal aspiration, or border) is always temporally and spatially multiple, never either/or, always both old and new, here and there, national and post-national. Such a multiple object cannot be grasped in its entirety because there is no entirety to be captured; quite the opposite, in fact. As such, the object itself is an imperial, nationalist, globalist, liberal, local, global, post-national beast. Every attempt to universalise the categories, which each strive to make the universal work and travel, evokes a particular constellation of that 'beast'. Rather than a break between two different modes or 'border-ness' that progressively replace one another in time or place, it is instead a question of what is elicited in any given encounter (cf. Tsing 2005). In "Figurer Uden Grund" (2011), anthropologists Frida Hastrup and Nathalie Brichet discuss arranging a museum exhibition about global climate change at the Danish National Museum. According to the authors, an anthropological object is already a specific combination of perspectives, analysis, and theory (2011: 120). Thus, based on which context or grounds does an object stand out as something; and on which context or grounds does it change or completely disappear? Rather than define an object through and through, with all of its relevant actors, practices, temporalities, and locations, the analysis might instead elucidate how the object is constantly generated through the gathering together of relations between specific times, places, and actors, while leaving others aside. The end result will thus never be a comprehensive

explanation but rather an exploration of how both academic analyses and 'everyday analyses' constantly trace relations in new ways; foregrounding and backgrounding, creating the object anew. This means that an object cannot be grasped in its entirety since there is no position from which to capture an entirety. More precisely, there is no entirety to be captured. Rather, different aspirations or failures, connections or separations are evoked or come to matter in different ways, at different times, in different encounters. In the next and final section of this chapter, I introduce three analytical approaches that promise to encompass such multiplicity, and which have informed how I developed the analytical chapters of this dissertation (i.e., chapters four to seven).

Relative location: the disappearance and reappearance of places

Working at the Greek–Albanian borderland in the 1990s and at the Greek–Turkish borderland in the 2000s, anthropologist Sarah Green emphasises the relational, performative, and historically contingent aspects of border. That 'here' is always connected to 'there' is the crucial starting point for how Green defines borders and places (2005; 2009; 2012). Through the lens of "relative location", she studies borderlands, movement, borders, territories, and personhood by foregrounding the shifting meanings or valuations of the territories in which people live or through which they move. To Green, things or places do not have an inherent value but instead have a relational value that is located in time and space; in that sense, her study of 'the relative location' pays attention to how, when, and why places appear or disappear, become relevant or lose their relevance. In *Notes on the Balkans* (2005), Green studies these relative marginalities along the Greek–Albanian borderland, by asking *how* things come to mean rather than what they mean (ibid. 143). How did the Balkans come to be understood as fractal and chaotic? How did the North Epirus region come to be understood as ordinary and 'just Greek'? (ibid.: 13). Green studies this by attending to the relations and separation, connections and disconnections between places, and thereby also circumventing the understanding that some places inevitably or necessarily belong together. The notion of 'relative location' informs my analysis in the sense that I am cautious to not directly take the fields' point of departures and connections as my own point of departures or connections. I return to this in the next chapter, where I discuss the field design of the dissertation's field research.

Critical events and the reconfiguration of interpretive categories

As a temporal addition to the spatial-location work of the border and Europe, I want to briefly introduce the notion of a critical event" as anthropologist Madeleine Reeves uses it in order to explore the changing temporality of borders. In her work on international state borders and everyday life in Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan (2016), Reeves argues that border studies should capture the ways in which borders constantly change: *"…their capacity to intensify and dissipate, materialize and dematerialize; to 'erupt', regularly or sporadically, and to do so differently for asymmetrically positioned individuals and social groups"* (ibid.: 160). In other words, Reeves is interested in how we can grasp the temporality of borders not solely as paradigmatic changes over time but as a constant temporality of borders. Eager to capture this 'temporal complexity', Reeves proposes applying the notion of "critical events". Reeves builds on anthropologist Veena Das' conceptualisation of the term as *"…those moments when everyday life is ruptured, initiating new modes of action that bring about a reconfiguration of interpretive categories, such as the meaning of martyrdom or the construction of a heroic life"* (Das 1995: 6). Reeves adopts this understanding in order to examine how sudden initiatives by governments can turn a relatively relaxed border into a militarised border, which thereby changes the conditions of life for the local population. Through an ethnographic account of a local family's decision to leave their house by the Kyrgyz–Uzbek border and relocate to Moscow, Reeves provides ethnographic detail to the ways in which critical events and ruptures can destabilise existing categories and life modes. Prior to that particular family's migration, the border had been experienced as non-present; however, through a number of border disputes, it re-emerged as a site of concern, which thus changed the conditions of livelihood. The border re-emerged as a site with a heavy military presence, border signs, and acts of aggression that caused families to change and reconfigure their lives. Through these accounts, Reeves suggests studying the ethnographic specificity of the reconfiguration of interpretive categories. With this analytical take, she also shows how different types of border do not merely replace each another throughout the course of history, but how they "linger on" (Green 2012), appear at the same time, or swap places – even if only momentarily. Reeves thus suggests paying ethnographic attention to 'critical events' that expose the multiple temporalities of border. However, as I discuss in the following section, critical moments can be analytically evoked, too.

'Inverting the telescope': juxtapositions and comparisons

In *"Inverting the Telescope on Borders that Matter: Conversations in Café Europa"* (2015), ethnologists and border scholars Dorte Andersen, Olivier Kramsch, and Marie Sandberg suggest "the inverted telescope" as a method to analytically emphasise such 'critical events'. With inspiration from Benedict Anderson's comparison project in *'The Spectre of Comparison'* (1998), the authors propose a method that juxtaposes and compares; here, the intention is to destabilise notions of borders and Europe, both temporally and spatially. Rather than offering yet another exhaustive definition of what 'Europe' is, they argue for the need to constantly destabilise, juxtapose, and 'invert the telescope' in order to understand how Europe and borders appear as different objects. This can be done by examining the various relations and separations through a juxtaposition of bordering projects from different locations and times in history. 'The inverted telescope' can thus be used to question the meaning and location of 'Europe' or 'the European Union' as well as to question what can be contained, what these terms can signify, and for whom they matter. Their suggestion breaks with certain analytical ambitions to speak on behalf of others (be it the 'system' or the 'subaltern') as well as with the idea that an analyst is in a position to passively and objectively regard the object in question in its entirety. As such, the study of borders in Europe should have as its goal a constant inversion of the telescope back and forth in order to emphasise how relating different objects both magnifies and minimalizes, depending on the object in question. Constantly flipping the telescope back and forth creates a 'dizzying moment' (2015: 464) that is analytically fruitful because it provides an opportunity to show what is inherently political in the work of borders, and "to think Europe 'otherwise'" (ibid.: 473). What I in the next chapter, building on Matei Candea (2007), will call "an arbitrary Europe", Andersen, Kramsch, and Sandberg describe as a *"a real-and-imagined space called Café Europa"* (2015: 462). Here, both borders and Europe are ontologically multiple and thus become not exhaustive definitions or locations but matters for continuous discussion and conversation.

Conclusion: Europes and borders

To summarise the approach that I attempt to develop in this dissertation, instead of trying to account for 'the entirety' of actors and practices that make up a 'border regime', my study of 'the borders of Europe' tries to describe how different scales, relations and separations, temporalities and spaces become productive through their daily work. By focusing on the coexistence of different temporal and spatial

dispositions, I suggest that there are always different orientations and dispositions that have to be handled at the borders of the Europe. There are not merely multiple 'actors'; there are continuously multiple orientations, dispositions, futures, pasts, presents, and possibilities. Indeed, if 'the borders of Europe' are both new, old, contested, agreed upon, national, European, inclusive, and exclusive, then they are always tentative, and the methods used to study such an object must be attuned to grasp such tentativeness and multiplicity. Throughout my research for this dissertation, critical events, relative locations, and inverting telescopes occurred both 'within the field' and in my encounters with the field; this is something I use explicitly in my analytical work in order to describe certain figurations of an object (cf. Hastrup 2014). Throughout my research, both my informants and I flipped the 'telescope' to evoke a certain figuration of the object.

In the next chapter, I present the three main field sites for my study, and I discuss how to study the spatial and temporal connections and separations of Europe. With an understanding of practice as performativity and the border as a multiple object, I did not situate my study amongst border officials to 'nuance the greater whole'. Also, I did not felt compelled to 'include all actors' in order to uncover the intrinsic assemblage of the border regime. Rather, by locating my project amongst border officials, I am interested in advancing studies that take into consideration the scale-making, the multiplicity, the differences, and the performativity – not as a way to summarise, map, or nuance, but to develop a critical analytical capacity for understanding how relations, separations, connections, and divisions are constantly being made. Thus, the notion of 'practice' that I apply in the dissertation concentrates on practice as performative, and the global as emerging from actual encounters. In that sense, focusing on practice means focusing on different versions or performances of the bordering of Europe. I pay particular attention to these specific versions and performances through my examination of the specific hierarchies, relations, and imaginaries that materialised in this version of the bordering of Europe.

Chapter 3: An 'Arbitrary Europe', and how to study it

In the previous chapter, I defined the dissertation's object of study as the connection and disconnection of European borders. In this chapter, I discuss how the process of researching such an object played out. In the first part, I present the three main border-control units with which I conducted fieldwork. Then I discuss how I have analytically related these three units to each other throughout the fieldwork process and in the four analytical chapters. To conclude this chapter, I address the methodological implications of my study with a discussion of the constant negotiation of both my role as a researcher and the object of inquiry, which persisted throughout my interactions with the interlocutors.

This dissertation is based on field research conducted between 2015 and 2017[10] in three primary settings: amongst Danish police at Copenhagen Airport; amongst Danish police at the Danish–German border; and with deployed border experts at the EU Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) in Moldova and Ukraine.[11] I was granted official access that was negotiated by superiors at the Danish police and, in the case of EUBAM, by the assistants to superiors. To a varying degree in each setting, I was permitted to ask questions, conduct interviews, and follow daily work routines. I was responsible for establishing all of the contacts, directly addressing the person in question based on my desktop research or suggestions from other contacts. In one instance, I was asked to sign a confidentiality agreement that also allowed the police unit in question to review my material prior to publication. In all other cases, no agreements were made regarding publication or confidentiality. The ethnographic material I use as the basis for the dissertation's analytical chapters is primarily derived from my interviews and field observations, unless stated otherwise. I typically recorded interviews or conversations, which was always done in agreement with the person being recorded. On other occasions, interviews and conversations were not recorded; instead, I registered them by writing notes on-site and subsequently summarising the discussions. In the analytical chapters, I quote recorded interviews and paraphrase the note-registered interviews. With regards to informal conversations

[10] With the main part carried out between autumn 2015 and spring 2016.

[11] Quantitatively, the material covers 22 semi-structured interviews, field observations at training sessions and diverse work situations, a number of informal meetings to make contact and interview appointments, plus numerous letters, emails, and telephone calls. Written sources include official documents, archival material, newspaper articles, annual reports, and promotional publications.

and field-observation practices, all border officials were informed of my presence by their superiors and were invited to request more information, either from me or their superiors, if they wished. Because most of the interlocutors entered into conversations with me on the basis of their superior's permission, I follow the principle of anonymity;[12] in that respect, all of my interlocutors' names have been changed. In addition, I have deliberately omitted specificities regarding rank, position, and other characteristics that could unintentionally risk exposing the identity of the person in question (inasmuch as those characteristics do not factor into the specific argument that I make in my analysis). All of my interview and conversation partners were informed about my position as a researcher,[13] but most have not been presented with the final results of my analysis in this dissertation.[14]

An imagined geography of Europe

In the words of Frontex, the European agency for external borders, border control has expanded from being carried out at the borderline and to be stretched to encompass much more. A Frontex promotional publication says: *"Historically, border control meant control of the line between states. But the EU has a wider view of the issue, called Integrated Border Management (IBM). The IBM concept reflects the fact that what happens at the border is only a small part of any journey. To be effective, border management has to cover the whole process, which starts long before the traveller reaches the border and may continue long afterwards. Knowledge, and to some extent control, of what happens before the border, in the country of departure and in countries of transit, as well as what happens inland once the border has been crossed, is also important"* (Frontex 2015: 12). What Frontex proudly calls its Integrated Border Management (IBM)

[12] Ethnologist Ann Kirsten Carlström discusses how the police officers she studied in Stockholm encouraged her to use their real names in her final text, because they were proud of their jobs, and her representation of them, however Carlström nevertheless decided to apply pseudonyms against their wishes (1999). For a further discussion of the principle of anonymity and why it should not necessarily be automatically applied, see Tilley, L., & Woodthorpe, K. (2011).

[13] In one instance, included in the dissertation, my status as researcher was not properly disseminated to everyone involved. For the sake of my argument, I have chosen to include this instance, but I have ensured the anonymity of the people involved.

[14] Sharing my written drafts or final analysis with interlocutors was not part of the initial project design, and thus did not consistently become part of my writing process; rather, this practice assumed different roles during the writing phase. On my own initiative, I shared a book chapter with interlocutors after it was published; and, a police unit will be able to read the dissertation before publication. I was given an open and unspecified invitation to present the project's results. Later in this chapter, I discuss analysis as other than exposing and revealing, arguing instead that ethnography has the potential to start conversations. In that sense, the question of a written analysis or text's afterlife becomes pivotal: when should the conversations take place, who should participate (at which stages of the process), and when or how does it end?

method, which covers the 'whole process', has been criticised by scholars as a strategy that creates a fine-meshed web of borders that meticulously filter between bona fide and non-bona fide travellers (Walters 2006: 151ff) *"long before the traveller reaches the border"*, as Frontex states.

The dissertation's three main field sites mirror this 'whole process' in the sense that I conducted fieldwork at units of border management that can be divided into the three central categories of borders within the IBM universe: an internal border (Danish–German border, the police unit in Padborg); an external border (Border Control Unit, National Police, and Copenhagen Airport); and a border beyond the Schengen territories (Moldovan–Ukrainian border, EUBAM). However, as I clarify in this chapter, my motivation for this was not to reflect the 'wider view' (to echo Frontex's words) in order to use these sites as separate parts which, when added together, may provide insight into the 'whole process'. Rather, my motivation for combining the different EU border categories was to study the *"continuity of European border regimes"* (Andersen and Sandberg 2012: 3). However, instead of approaching such continuity as Frontex does – i.e., as a whole process – I suggest studying it in terms of relative location (cf. Green 2005) or patterns of absence and presence (Sandberg 2009b), which highlights the continuous process of foregrounding and backgrounding relations and separations.

Moreover, my interest in showing the relative location of places within Europe was part of my initial decision to focus on what was (when I first embarked on fieldwork) broadly defined as seemingly 'borderless', seemingly 'uncontroversial' borders (Danish–German) or forgotten borders (Moldovan–Ukrainian). Showing the presence of the European Union in such 'unlikely' places – e.g., on the border between Moldova and Ukraine, in the quiet border town of Padborg, and in a busy airport efficiently taking people to and from their travel destinations – and thereby illuminate how these unlikely or forgotten borders nevertheless play a role in the bordering of Europe. As such, they are just as controversial, important, and constitutive for the bordering of Europe – for its effects, failures, shortcomings, and successes – as any other, more 'visible' borders. I was also interested in studying how these places became 'uncontroversial' or 'borderless'; how they came to be 'forgotten' in an imaginative of European borders in which some were quite clearly visible and controversial, and others were easy to dismiss as not even being borders.

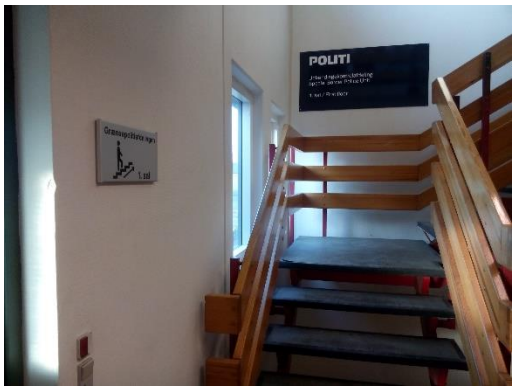
In other words, I was interested in engaging in a project of unsettling the 'imagined geography' of Europe (cf. Massey 2005) through an investigation of the making and unmaking of Europe in places other than the borders of southern Europe and

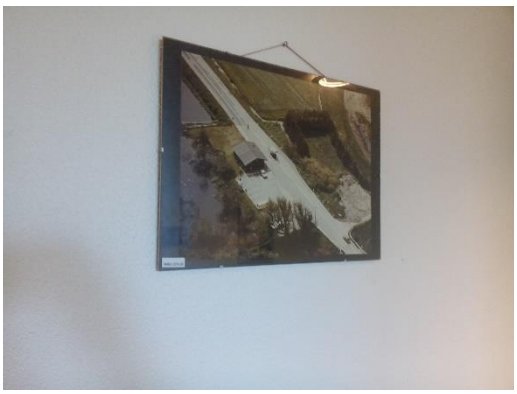
the Mediterranean, which have been the predominant representation of where EU borders are located (at least in 2014 when this project began; I discuss the temporality of the dissertation in the conclusion, chapter 8). In the following section, I present dissertation's central field sites.

Defending the borderline: the Alien Control Unit at the Danish–German border

What's in a name? In front of the entrance to the 1960s brick building in the Customs area of the Danish border town of Padborg, "Special Border Police Section" is printed in English on a pylon. Inside the building, there are two different signposts by the main staircase: one says "Grænsepolitiafdelingen" (the Border Police Unit), and the other "Udlændningekontrolafdelingen, Special Border Police Unit". The English words on this sign are not a direct translation, as the Danish name is officially translated elsewhere as 'the Aliens Control Unit' Taken together, they also discreetly pointed to the ambiguous meaning of 'border' that I encountered during my fieldwork at this police unit near the Danish–German border. . As I will show throughout the chapters, the various names and the not-literal translations quite accurately reflect the different roles that this unit has had and still has.

The police unit is located near a large truck-parking area that is the Customs site for border-crossing trucks to declare their cargo. Before 2001 when Denmark joined Schengen's borderless Europe, all trucks had to declare their goods here, but now it is only for trucks with special conditions. The 'Aliens Control Unit' is located behind the Customs building. This unit has offices on two floors, which include guardrooms, interrogation rooms, detention rooms, and a canteen as well as two temporarily installed portable cabins for registered and not-yet-registered asylum seekers, respectively. The unit is one of two Danish police units that deal with issues related to criminal offences committed by 'aliens'; i.e., people without legal residence permits or non-citizens of Denmark. The administrative unit in Padborg was established at the turn of the century when Denmark entered into the Schengen Agreement; at this time, the national borderline was abandoned as a site for control, and thereby re-delegated to the external borders of the Schengen Area and to general immigration control. This unit replaced the former Border Police that had policed the borderland area and conducted passport control at the borderline. In addition to conducting occasional random controls at the main border-crossing roads, the unit is responsible for specialised tasks in relation to foreigners' criminal offences both within and outside the country; e.g., they





Entrance to the Alien's Control Unit/Special Border Police/Border Police Unit (left). One of the many aerial photographs of pre-Schengen border infrastructure, which still hang on the walls of the unit (right). March 2016.

Demolition of obsolete border control infrastructure in 2006. Photo copy by Harry.

investigate non-citizens' criminal acts in any Danish police district, and also coordinate with foreign police authorities if they apprehend a person wanted for a criminal offence in Denmark (Police of Southern Jutland 2010; 2011). Furthermore, they closely cooperate with German police and Customs authorities; a shared office across the border functions as a sort of liaison office that handles special inquiries regarding, e.g., translations or the validity of drivers' licenses (Dürkop 2008).[15]

In the offices at Padborg, there are yellowed aerial-view photos of former border-crossing points on the walls, and the entrance is decorated with a small exhibition panorama that includes pictures and short texts from the 20th century of prominent stories about war and peace along the border. Many of the offices have something such as an old photograph of passport control on their note boards. In the chief superintendent's office, there are old police hats, a cardboard pen holder resembling a German police car, and diplomas from participation in meetings with chief inspectors from other European countries. The historical panoramas and international souvenirs seem to contain some kind of affection for or appreciation of things related to the national border as well as a wish to *se souvenir* something - if nothing else, then an awareness or recognition of previous ways of doing borders.[16]

It was not only at the police unit that the borderline remained as a sort of metonymic object of affect (Otto 2008; Navaro-Yashin 2012). While the culmination of the European cooperation and the opening of the borders were officially celebrated in spring 2001 with speeches, Danish sausages, and German beer (Andersen 2004: 15), it was lamented by others. Not everyone wanted the borderline to become a thing of the past, and the border infrastructure (and its removal) was the object of political sentiment. At the same time that the official Schengen-celebrations were taking place, the conservative national party Danish People's Party held a gathering to grieve the Schengen Agreement, warning against the great error it was to open the border (Dansk Folkeparti 2001). The site of their gathering was a Customs building that had been erected in 1923 when re-drawing the borderline after World War I had demanded new infrastructures, administration, and personnel. This Customs building had been built at a time when the Danish state was expanding and strengthening areas that had been

[15] In *Europa an der Oder* (2008), ethnologist Alexandra Schwell studies the introduction of close cooperation and joint border patrols at the German–Polish border after Poland's acceptance as an EU-member state in 2007.

[16] Karolina Follis notes a similar aesthetics of a border unit in her account of the modernization process of Polish border police (Follis 2012: 101).

under Prussian rule for nearly 60 years. The Danish People's Party (DF) purchased the Customs building as a symbolic gesture; they would give it back to the state when the government recognised how foolish their decision to open the borders had been (Jydske Vestkysten 2001a). Until that happened, though, the party rented the building to a small local museum, Grænselandsmuseet (The Borderland Museum). For more than a decade, this was nothing more than a peculiar story about a forgotten building in a small town at a border that no longer existed, and it made the party and its supporters appear to be somehow cut off; out of touch with things. However, on 5 January 2016, a prominent politician from Danish People's Party wrote a message on Twitter: *"DF's border station in Sæd, which we bought in 2001, is ready: the moment that the police and Customs need the building, we will hand over the keys"* (twitter.com, my translation).

Although the Customs building has not (at the time of this writing) been put to use again, what appeared to be the unrealistic, nationalistic nostalgia of a right-wing political party was suddenly activated when temporary border control was introduced in 2016 to manage the arrival of refugees. In chapter seven, I examine this return of the national borderline and the ways in which it was connected to the past in addition to being a thing entirely its own. In order to study shifting concepts of the borderline, my fieldwork included following the Danish police in their daily work at the Danish–German border; e.g., controlling passengers crossing the borders, processing asylum claims, and investigating human-trafficking networks. While my project was initially planned to gain insight into the cooperation between Danish–German border police, the events of 2015 turned my fieldwork into an exploration of the reintroduction of border control at a border that had been emptied of border-control infrastructures and procedures.

"I wonder what we would do": the Border Control Unit, Danish National Police

Even though the infrastructure of the border had been erased from the landscape in the Danish–German borderland, borders did not altogether disappear in the 'borderless Europe'. Many border scholars have argued that the suspension of border control at the international borderlines between the European Union's member states meant that borders went 'elsewhere' (Rumford 2006), that they multiplied and proliferated (Mezzandra and Nelson 2012), or that they migrated from the territory to the migrant (Khosravi 2010) – both in terms of biometric border control (Vaughen-Williams 2015) as well as stigma and never knowing when the border would strike (Tsoni 2013).

However, in the midst of these transformations and border relocations, the external borders of the European Union's Schengen area became pivotal. In a Danish context, the Border Control Unit at the National Alien's Centre (NUC) at the Danish National Police in the suburbs of Copenhagen is a central place for the coordination of issues related to control of the external borders. The National Alien's Centre deals with border control, Frontex-related issues, and the registration of asylum seekers as well as the deportation of refused asylum seekers and other foreigners without legal residence in Denmark. The significance of the Border Control Unit has grown over the years.[17] One of the mid-level managers explained to me that, when border control was initially relocated to the external borders in 2001, there had not been any training done or special attention given to the area. Rather, the transformation was considered to be merely a case of learning new regulations and legislation. Since the establishment of Frontex in 2005, however, the control of external borders could no longer simply be a matter of learning new regulations; instead, the unit's main tasks are to train officers and evaluate border-control procedures in addition to ensuring and documenting compliance with Schengen regulations in order to create a "common culture of border service" (Frontex 2013: 71; see also chapter five).

In a job advertisement from 2016, the unit described its work in the following way: *"The tasks of the police vis-à-vis border control, asylum processing, and the deportation of foreigners without legal permits in Denmark are growing and under increased political attention. At NUC, you will have a unique opportunity to work in a highly topical and relevant area that will influence and release the potential of future solutions and decisions"* (job advertisement 2016, my translation). As this career-accelerating language indicates, being part of this unit means that there is always a report about to be submitted, someone is always about to fly to a meeting at Frontex's headquarters in Warsaw, someone has always just been on the phone with the Ministry of Justice, and someone has just attended a briefing with the national intelligence service. Here, there are no nostalgic, yellowed pictures on the walls – just fancy posters that use trendy drawings and fonts to depict the unit's strategies, main communication, and challenges. Its key tasks are to coordinate courses, conferences, certifications, training sessions, strategies, analyses, reports,

[17] During my first visits, the unit also had operational duties, such as organising difficult deportation cases and registering fingerprints in the Eurodac database. However, these tasks were later re-assigned to a police district. The change was also reflected in the replacement of the police-trained manager of the unit with an attorney. Such changes meant that the unit became more of a governmental agency that directly answers to the Ministries as opposed to being an internally coordinating unit for the police. In an interview, the Centre's director explained to me that its primary tasks are to provide technical solutions to the political guidelines and agendas (note-registered interview, September 2017).

European networks, and international cooperation. The unit employs police officers with special training, special advisors with an academic background in political science or a similar discipline, and a growing number of attorneys.

In an interview with one of the unit's employees, Lydia described the central duties as advising and supervision regarding border control.[18] She explained that the unit's main job is to evaluate the performance of border control in the various Danish police districts. This involves organising training activities for police officers, and providing detailed information about the ever-changing and very specialised border-control legislation, immigration policies, and residence-permit rules. Together with her colleagues, she participates in Frontex-led committees and working groups that focus on training, risk-assessment analysis, and joint ventures. Moreover, because Lydia and her colleagues are the most specialised officers in Denmark with regards to border-control and border-management issues, they also form part of a European Border Guard Team, which deploys staff to conduct specialised border interventions at particularly exposed locations or border-crossing points within the Schengen area (I discuss this work in more detail in chapter five). During our conversation, Lydia informed me that Denmark has no less than 104 harbours and 24 airports, which are certified as international Schengen border-crossing points. Lydia remarked that this is something that many people tend to forget; often, 'the external borders' are understood as just the land and sea borders of southern Europe. However, that is far from the case; a great deal of air and sea traffic to Denmark arrives from outside the Schengen Area, and it is subject to the same procedures as the external land borders. From her position in the Border Control Unit, Lydia saw a European geography that she felt others did not acknowledge: a European geography in which Denmark has a large number of borders that must comply with the regulations for the Schengen Area's external borders. Lydia and her colleagues' work evokes a geography and map of both Denmark and Europe that is bound together through all the harbours and airports, Warsaw and Brussels, and the Mediterranean ports of entry.

With the border system's connections as her everyday object of work, Lydia was also well aware of the chaos that made the southern European borders stand out as central sites of controversy regarding European Union's borders. She herself had experienced the harsh conditions that migrants, locals, and authorities had to endure when she participated in EU joint-assistance operations along the Greek and Italian borders. At the time of our meeting, the Danish media and political discourse often framed the problems related to borders, asylum seekers, or

[18] Note-registered interview; June 2015, Border Control Unit, Danish Police.

A visualisation of main tasks, visions and strengths of NUC: 'flexible/mobile solutions', 'develop LEAN', 'focus on innovation', '2 % yearly efficiency improvement', 'strategic analysis', 'road policing, cooperating across sectors', 'risk analysis of border control and training in border control', 'efficient deportations'. Poster seen hanging in multiple locations at NUC premises. Here photographed in a classroom. September 2015.

'economic migrants' as a consequence of the incompetence of the southern European border and asylum authorities. Asylum and border problems in southern Europe were often interwoven into existing narratives of these countries as weak states that were not sufficiently mature to handle either economic or law-enforcement responsibilities within the European Union. Anthropologist Heath Cabot calls this mechanism "a moral geography of Europe" (Cabot 2014: 23-40) in which specific countries were continually blamed and punished for not solving problems that the European Union member countries' common ventures had created. Indicating that the challenges experienced in southern Europe would be tough for any country, including Denmark, to counteract, Lydia said, *"I sometimes wonder what we would do if things were the same here".* This comment somehow encapsulated the geographical hierarchy of Europe as it had grown throughout the 2000s and 2010s: the problems that emerged from the arrival of refugees – and the lack of infrastructure and political will to welcome them – was relocated to the southern borders. This division of labour apparently carried enormous symbolic power in that it created a Europe wherein chaos, insufficiency, and an inability to handle problems was linked to southern European countries with their incompetent authorities, and simultaneously de-coupled from northern European authorities and their rational capabilities.

During my field research, I attended Danish National Police classes based on a Frontex-curriculum regarding border control in order to study the process of standardising the external borders. Furthermore, I participated in the daily work routines at Copenhagen Airport, the busiest airport in Scandinavia and a much-used gateway to Sweden for refugees and undocumented migrants. I also conducted interviews with Danish police officers deployed to Frontex missions at the external borders of the EU–Schengen area. Taken together, this part of my fieldwork enabled me to study the harmonisation and standardisation work embedded in the process of Europeanising the responsibility for the borders of Europe.

Tidying up the "terrain naturally conducive to the unfettered movement of goods and people": EUBAM

In the 2011 annual report from the European Union's Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) to Moldova and Ukraine, it states that: *"EUBAM continued to assist* [Moldova and Ukraine] *in achieving progress in the demarcation process of all segments of the Moldova–Ukraine state border. EUBAM attended the meetings of Joint Ukraine–*

Moldova Commission on Border Demarcation (JUMCBD) and supported both delegations in achieving results and finding common solutions to issues regarding demarcation. The Joint Commission highly appreciated EUBAM support, and called for further involvement of experts of the Mission to participate in the process" (EUBAM 2011: 26). Annual reports from subsequent years state that the demarcation process was further undertaken. For example: *"In 2012, 432.4km of the state border line at the Central (Transnistrian) segment was marked or demarcated by the end of 2012. Of that, 334.8km was fully demarcated with 1,220 border pillars, and 97.6km of it was marked with 492 wooden marks; 21km of the state border line has yet to be either marked or demarcated. In all, 118.9km of the border still needs to be demarcated."* In 2013, the report stated that only 15,2 kilometres of the central sector remained to be demarcated, and in 2014 *"significant progress was made in the physical demarcation of the boundary, and by the year's end only 3.73 kilometres remained to be demarcated".* Finally, in 2015, the demarcation project was finalised and mentioned for the last time in the annual report with the concluding words: *"EUBAM agreed to support the finalisation of the necessary work at the central sector of the border and to fund the printing of the documentation"* (EUBAM annual reports: 2012: 13; 2013: 15; 2014: 17; 2015: 17).

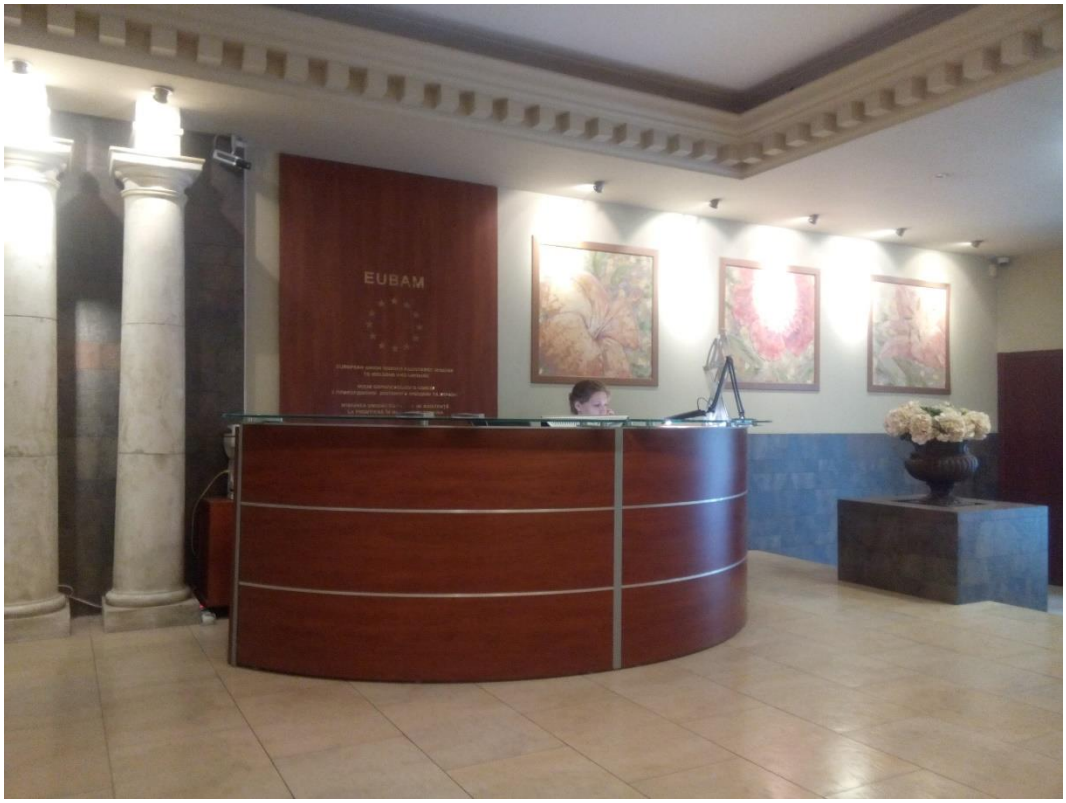
To paraphrase the words of historian Tony Judt, who describes the nationalisation of Europe in the wake of World War I as a project of tidying up Europe (cf. Judt 2005: 9), this demarcation project had been initiated to 'tidy up' after the different border-drawing projects of the 20th century. Prior to World War I, what is now the borderland between the two independent republics of Moldova and Ukraine had been the province of Bessarabia (Livezeanu 1995). The western part of Ukraine was briefly an independent state, and its eastern region formed part of Tsarist and later Bolshevik Russia (King 1999). During the years of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the borderland separated two Soviet republics (the Ukrainian and the Moldovan), and the border was often not enforced with regards to movement (Zhurzhenko 2007: 46). After independence in 1991, an enforced border was initiated; however, everyday movement continued across the borders as before; it seemed to regulate itself not by border-control officials or border posts but by more sensible things, such as work, crops, food markets, and family ties.[19] Prior to the border assistance mission's involvement in the project to demarcate the borderline in 2005, the un-demarcated border between Moldova and Ukraine was described as a problem in the sense that its instability hindered (not movement but) documentation, prosecution, and efficiency. In particular, EUBAM stated that

[19] Not much has been written about everyday life along the Moldovan-Ukrainian border, but accounts of the Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan border (Reeves 2014) and the Russian-Ukrainian border (Zhurzkenko 2010) address the transformations of intra-soviet borders in the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. See also Richardson (2008) for a study of the Odessa region.

the border between Moldova and Ukraine was *"characterised by terrain naturally conducive to the unfettered movement of goods and people"*. A thorough demarcation of the border by way of "*physical defences or obstacles"* was deemed essential – both to release resources for targeted border control, and to ensure that it would be possible to document any violation of the border (EUBAM Annual Report 2005; 2006: 11).

Since 2005, EUBAM has assisted in the process of not merely 'tidying' up the un-demarcated borderlines but also modernising the border and bringing its policing up to European Union standards; e.g., by suggesting stronger cooperation amongst law-enforcement agencies and promoting intelligence-based policing (see chapter four). The Mission is fully funded by the European Union and, since its establishment, it has been the workplace of seconded and deployed border officials from EU member states. The mission is comprised of six field offices spread along the Ukrainian–Moldovan border, two country offices, and the headquarters in Odessa. The border in question is approximately 1,222 kilometres and stretches from the Black Sea along the Dniester River. As the story goes, in reports and on the always-updated and well-maintained EUBAM homepage (eubam.org), the Ukrainian and Moldovan governments invited the mission in 2005, and the primary goal was to help the two countries stabilise the region and the borderline, which is divided by the unrecognised independent state of Transnistria (it broke away from the Republic of Moldova in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union). Since its initial establishment in 2005, the mission has been extended every four years, and it serves as an advisory mechanism that cooperates with local authorities (i.e., the Ukrainian and Moldovan Customs authorities, border guards, and police) to improve the management of the border that the two countries share. The mission has no mandate to enforce changes but works by advising and promoting an EU approach to border management; e.g., by building appropriate operational and institutional capacity, contributing to the resolution of the Transnistrian conflict, and improving transnational cooperation on border management (European Commission 2005: 7). EUBAM is staffed with what is referred to in the mission's vocabulary as 'border experts'; i.e., experienced border guards and police officers from EU member states who have advanced training in border-management and capacity-building (eubam.org; EUBAM annual reports 2010–2015).

The promotion of European Union border standards through training and cooperation with countries outside the EU–Schengen Area is described by human-rights scholar Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen as a "principle of pre-emptive bordering", and it rebukes the picture of the European Union's borders as a



EUBAM headquarters front desk, Odesa, Ukraine, October 2015

Local border crossing point near Kuchurhan, Ukrainian-Moldovan border, October 2015

distinct wall or line. Such pre-emptive bordering practices can take on many guises: outsourcing to private companies or other state authorities (Lemberg-Pedersen 2012; 2013), signing treaties or agreements, and offering capacity-building and training programmes (Bialasiewicz 2011). I have studied the latter through visits to EUBAM's operations. As part of my field research, I visited the mission's main offices in Chisinau and Odessa as well as a border-crossing point in Ukraine. I interviewed various employees with an aim to understand both the process of expansion and the ideals of border management that were spelled out in big letters when they were exported to a neighbouring, not-yet European Union-member, country.

An 'arbitrary Europe': from geographical field to analytical work

In an article that scrutinises popular tropes within migration research, anthropologist Gassan Hage remarks: *"I did start my research thinking of myself as doing multi-sited ethnography. Now, I have to say that I simply find the idea not practically feasible. That is, it is not a question of being for or against it. It is more a question of whether there can be such a thing, and I simply do not think that there can be such a thing as a multi-sited ethnography"* (Hage 2005: 465). Hage's critical reflections relate to the concept of 'multi-sited ethnography', a term that was coined in a renowned article by anthropologist George E. Marcus (1995). In this article, Marcus presents a range of strategies for studying global phenomena, such as following the people, the object, the metaphor, or the plot (ibid.: 105ff). Marcus' method became commonplace within anthropology and related disciplines as a way to study global phenomena. Marcus' conceptualisation of 'multi-sited' ethnography also epitomised an already flourishing break with what was considered to be the traditional approach to field sites as containers of culture; this new approach instead put emphasis on an attentiveness to practices, conditions, and relations (Jespersen, Sandberg and Mellemgaard 2017: 155). Marcus' article suggests that there is a distinction between a bounded or located field, and a not-bound or located field as the main framework through which to discuss the conceptualisation of fieldwork (e.g., Gupta & Fergusson 1997; Appadurai 2001). In his commentary on the use of multi-sited ethnography, Hage calls for a less automatised use of the multi-sited approach to fieldwork, and he does so by drawing attention to both the conceptualisation of the 'field' and the amount of 'work' that 'fieldwork' involves. Building on his experiences from a research project on a transnational community of Lebanese migrants, which spanned three continents, he urges researchers to acknowledge the exhaustive aspects of having

to be physically multi-sited. He also questions the kind of complexity that such fieldwork may contain, and discusses how he eventually conceptualised his 'field' as one site of a transnational community rather than as multiple sites added together to give a composite picture; this was because he realised that he wanted to emphasise the transnational ties rather than the communities' embeddedness in the location where they lived (Hage 2005: 466).

With regards to the practicalities of conducting a multi-sited study, I experienced the sort of exhaustion and frustration that Hage describes in my own field research. When I had to pack my bags to travel to Ukraine in the midst of studying the training activities of the Danish police, or when I had to reintroduce myself and renegotiate access because I had been gone for too long to rely on previous agreements, I had the feeling that I was missing opportunities to strengthen contacts and dig deeper. Every so often, I wished that I had 'stayed put' in one location, envisaging the solid ground of what could have been an opportunity to follow all the paths available to me: e.g., the procedures for employment at EUBAM; the small, barely noticeable, material traces of past ways of bordering the Danish–German borderland; the complex organisational structure of the National Border Control Unit; and so on. However, as I argue in the following section, even though each of these paths could have opened a world of complexities and questions to me, I was able to eventually take what I did encounter and notice, and turn it into specific roads of analysis.

The bounding of fieldworker and field sites

My combination of the three sites follows the tradition of conceptualising the field as analytical work. In *'Cultural analysis as reflexive practice / Kulturanalyse som refleksiv praksis'* (2017), ethnologists Astrid Jespersen, Signe Mellemgaard, and Marie Sandberg describe the four phases of cultural analysis (i.e., research question, fieldwork design, analytical work, insight) as equally constitutive; thus, it is a productive process that frames rather than represents (2017: 148f). Building on the work of anthropologists Simon Coleman and Peter Collins (2006), they propose the field as performance in that it brings forth the object it studies. Coleman and Collins suggest the word 'performance' because it accentuates the sense that fields and their contexts *"are created anew each time the ethnographer, with or without informants being physically present, invokes the field in the process of research or writing"* (Coleman and Collins 2006: 12). In other words, the analytical work that is required in any conceptualisation of a site (whether a 'single' or 'multiple' sites) emphasises the 'work' part of 'fieldwork'.

In what he calls a 'defence of the bounded fieldsite', anthropologist Matei Candea studies practices of inclusion and exclusion in a Corsican village; to counter the idea that specific places are necessary to study specific objects, Candea suggests the notion of an "arbitrary location" (2007, 2010). He argues that no place, or location, is inherently or naturally connected to specific places, topics, or questions of inquiry. In that regard, the location of a study cannot simply be justified through an already inherent connection or relation to 'another place' or a specific 'question'. Rather, he suggests that every location of a study should be a reflection about how such a location relates to other objects and locations. The analytical task must thereby be to describe how one binds the location together as such, and to show the connections one draws between locations (2007: 180). The researcher's task thus becomes to unfold how and why field sites get 'bounded'; i.e., to study how connections and separations are made, and how units and spheres are demarcated through different, specific practices. By suggesting the arbitrary location and bounded field, Candea moves away from the implicit holism that is evoked in the suggestion that multiplying or expanding sites could serve as a method to capture the entirety of what is being studied (ibid.: 169). However, to avoid confusing attempts to bound the field (and the bounding interests of the researcher), he argues that the field is not an object found, and thus not an object to be explained through and through. Rather, it is continuously bound together through reflective, methodological, and analytical work. Drawing on anthropologist Marilyn Strathern's notion of 'complexity within' (1991), Candea also suggests that the most difficult question is not how to (empirically) map growing complexity within a globalised world, but rather how to analytically contain inherent complexity or multiplicity (Candea 2010: 175).

Candea uses the arbitrary location as a heuristic manoeuvre to explain his decision to study a village instead of transnational practices. However, I want use it in a slightly different way: Candea's call to explicate the terms, conditions, and bounds have helped me to understand that I have not merely 'followed' the actor, the object, the metaphor, or the plot (as suggested by Marcus 1995), nor have I let informants show me how they localise the field (as recommended by Appadurai 1995 or Gupta & Fergusson 1997 in Candea 2010: 172). Instead, I have deliberately focused on places that would allow me to study the continuous making and unmaking of 'Europe'. Thus, as Candea says, there is no "necessary relation" between EUBAM's offices in Moldova and Ukraine, the Special Border Police Unit in Padborg at the Danish–German border, or the Border Control Unit at Danish Police's central offices – nor is there between the questions that I studied at these places and the site itself. Rather, it is precisely the combination of these sites that

allows me *"to reflect on and rethink conceptual entities, to challenge their coherence and their totalizing aspirations"* (ibid.). Following this approach, the field sites are not containers of a specific kind of information, and sites do not contain details that can shed light upon specific questions; instead, my combination allows me to bring certain stories, actors, times, and places into dialogue. Combining these sites in an 'arbitrary' manner thus allows me to study the different projects of connection and separation within Europe. Furthermore, the arbitrary, uneven, and disorganised Europe that I present in this dissertation conveys the point that 'Europe' is exactly that. As such, my 'arbitrary Europe' is more than a technicality related to the design of my fieldwork or the methodology I chose; the design works as a deliberate non-match that accentuates the never-complete ways of a bordering Europe. What I intend to make visible with my combination of sites is how different projects construct different entities. In other words, 'the borders of the European Union' is only an object from a certain perspective, and it is only from a very specific position that the borders of *EUBAM, Padborg*, and *Copenhagen Airport* belong together.

Within critical border and migration studies, Casas-Cortes et al. (2015) suggest studying the borders of Europe as a *"multidimensional multi-scalar space of conflict"* (ibid.: 70), and anthropologist Ruben Andersson suggests an 'extended field site' that consists of one site and many locales; both propose that, in order to grasp the borders of Europe, studying them should span geographical locations and multiple actors. However, in this dissertation, I argue that it is only through a certain framework that the borders of Ukraine appear as something that belongs to the borders of Denmark. As such, it is only from this perspective that there is a need for fieldwork that *spans* geographical locations or multiple types of actors. My combination of sites is thus not an attempt to *span* the 'European Border Regime' and show its various guises; rather, my three field sites allow me to show the continuous work of connecting and disconnecting places to each other, and of relating them to or separating them from the notion of 'Europe'. Earlier in this chapter, I presented the three, different field sites and – rather than describe them in terms of playing specific roles within the "whole process" of integrated border management (cf. Frontex 2013) – I related each of them instead to practices of removal, relocation, installation, transformation, harmonisation, the reorganisation of past, present, and future, and the combination and separation of territories.

In *"Analogue Analysis. Ethnography as Inventive Conversation"* (2014), anthropologist Frida Hastrup accentuates the generative and co-constitutive aspect of

ethnography, particularly by emphasising how analytical work is not solely the domain of ethnographers. She discusses ethnographic fieldwork as a *"shared and continual analytical domain"* that concerns both fieldworker and host (2014: 50). Interlocutors, too, are constantly engaged in analysing, juxtaposing, and comparing their own world, putting together bits and pieces. In this regard, ethnography – i.e., fieldwork and analysis – is not a quest for representation or summation but a generative practice of analytically relating and comparing. Hastrup proposes combining what she calls (not arbitrary but) 'far-fetched connections' as a way to bring this point to the fore, and she stresses how all ethnography entails *"combinatory efforts and ongoing processing, given less by empirical circumstances than by particular analytical perspectives"* (ibid.: 57).

The challenge is thus to bring together these diverse bounding attempts; both practically in a fieldwork situation, and analytically in terms of keeping the diverse expressions of analytical work visible in a written academic product. This brings me to the next part of this discussion about how to study the bordering of Europe: How did I enter into conversations, with whom, and about what? What sort of bounding projects did I encounter, contribute to, and participate in? As I discuss in the next section, I was not the only one preoccupied with the boundedness of sites during my fieldwork. During the research process, I had to constantly engage with ongoing practices of bounding – i.e., opening and closing sites – both as objects of analysis but also as barriers and facilitators for engaging in those conversations. In the following, I discuss the different ways that my attempts to bound a site encountered the bounding attempts of certain interlocutors.

How to study the borderline in a borderless Europe?

In a special issue of the academic journal *Security Studies*, editors point to the politics of gaining 'access' when researching border- or migration-management premises or staff (Côté-Boucher et al. 2014: 200). Generally, studies of state officials and, more specifically, border officials are filled with stories about issues regarding the positionality of the researcher: being cast as a spy (Carlström 1999); being rejected (Rozakou 2017); or gaining access through personal connections (Schwell 2008). During my research process, I encountered all of the above situations; however, I never encountered an 'open door' or 'full access' in as much as my interviews and other appointments was always made in coordination with superior. Rather, my fieldwork consisted of constant positioning and relational work in which I continuously tried to make myself and my project recognisable in

order to invite potential interlocutors to engage in conversation with me. In the following I discuss how, in which situations, and on what terms I was granted access to official premises, and how this was connected to the bounding work of my interlocutors.

A central aspect of the politics of access that I encountered throughout my field research had to do with the definition or relevance of my object of study. I encountered very different hierarchies of relevance regarding what would be interesting to study. This might often be the case in any ethnographic study; however, as certain superiors had to grant my access to interlocutors and premises, the different hierarchies of relevance were a concrete obstacle. This point was especially clear in my attempts to study the Danish borders with Germany. Early in my fieldwork endeavours, I talked on the phone with an instructor from the Danish Police Academy. Pondering how to help me establish contacts, he asked, *"Can you even study the borders?"* He went on to explain how the actual control of the borderline had transitioned into immigration control, which had also changed the Police Academy's focus to matters regarding immigration legislation, diversity, and culture. At the time, there was no basic police training specifically with regards to borders. On another occasion, my interest in studying the Danish–German border by way of the police unit at Padborg got me into trouble. Midway through my fieldwork, I was called in for a special meeting with a superior so I could be taught the difference between the European Union's 'external' and 'internal' borders; a distinction with which I was well acquainted. This meeting took place precisely when a number of EU member states were closing their borders due to a growing disbelief in the Schengen regulations' ability to solve growing problems via-à-vis the unfolding refugee crisis of summer 2015. Still, in my correspondence with the Border Control Unit, it was striking how they maintained the worldview that they were put in place to manage, and how they insisted that there was no 'border-related work' to be studied in Padborg. In other words, they were intent on making me understand that there was no border at the Danish–German border because 'border' in their view and vocabulary indicated an 'external border', and thus a completely different set of regulations, rules, problems, and solutions than an internal border (even with the temporary reintroduction of border control). Instead, the work being done at the Danish borders with Germany had to be addressed in terms of cross-border activities, crime prevention, or immigration control. The instructor who pondered the borderless border and the officers who lectured me on the different types of borders were, of course, correct that it was inaccurate to address the border between Denmark and Germany in terms of 'border'. It was obvious to everyone

working with these matters that border control had been relegated to external borders and immigration control. It was printed all over every Frontex publication and endlessly discussed in scholarly studies that I had been reading which described the re-territorisation of borders. I knew that I was being imprecise when I insisted on seeing how 'the border' was managed in a place where there was no border. At the same time, I was also convinced that it would be interesting to approach it as a border (there was indeed an international borderline, was there not?). But by doing so, was I imposing a false, analytical interest onto their localised and 'correct' understanding of the condition of things?

Teaching first-year Bachelor's students basic fieldwork methodology, I have often heard the complaint that interlocutors 'didn't say anything we could use', or 'they didn't answer our questions'. This always prompts me to encourage the students to listen to the interview recording again – to carefully listen to what the interlocutor said, and what they actually told them about. Reflecting over my own fieldwork experiences, this archetypal first-year situation came to mind, both because I had to insist that what I wanted to do and where I wanted to go was important, despite my 'gatekeepers'' hierarchies of relevance – but also because, by listening to 'what they actually said', their bounding work became clearer and clearer to me. It was a very specific and powerful version of the object of study, and simply finding the perfect way to pitch my project could not circumvent this. In my experience, the "study of everyday practices" (Côté-Boucher et al. 2014: 202) was not as straightforward as it sounds because the question of *where* such everyday practices take place was closely related to specific enactments (cf. Mol 2002) or distinct 'universes' (Bigo 2014) of the border.

Despite the disagreements about where I could study a 'border', I was always granted the access I asked for in the end – I could go there, they "didn't mind", but they did want to inform me that I was confusing the concepts. In some ways, this shows the difficulties of being granted access to something, especially when the people providing access do not agree on *what* they are granting someone access to. As I discuss in the next section, it also shows how my position as a "knowledge producer" played into the process of gaining access to conduct field research.

Knowledge loops and different kinds of knowledge work

Ethnologist Sabine Hess describes the migration- and border management industries' growing interest in knowledge production as something that creates a "knowledge loop" (Hess 2010). Based on her study of a migration-policy

organisation, she argues that she was granted access to the migration organisation she studied, because the management wished to appear transparent, and because they expected that her findings could feed into their own reflections and evaluations (ibid.: 112). In the following, I argue that a similar process was at stake in my fieldwork.

Within the past few decades, police and border work within Europe has experienced a continual process of turning police work into an object of applied research. In the case of Denmark, basic police training was established as a Bachelor's degree in 2014, and academic requirements were incorporated into the basic police education (Stevnsborg 2010: 200),[20] and this mirrored a general, European tendency of transforming police training into higher education in accordance with the European Union Bologna Process of Higher Education (Jaschke 2010). Further, at a European level, police research as both research and Master's degree programmes is increasing, and has been throughout the 2000s and 2010s (ibid.). Training activities that are done under the auspices of CEPOL (European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training) are described as follows:

> *"CEPOL is aware of the fast-developing societal and global changes as well as technological developments that affect the law enforcement environment, bringing new security challenges. To this end, the Agency ensures that urgent, emerging training needs can be addressed in a flexible and prompt manner. CEPOL's learning and training activities support the development of necessary competencies and improve the sharing of knowledge and experiences among law enforcement officials, while providing the opportunity to develop long-lasting professional networks"* (CEPOL training catalogue 2018: 4).

Furthermore, in partnership with six European universities, Frontex has launched a European Joint Master's in Strategic Border Management, a programme that is listed under the Social Sciences discipline (Frontex 2017). The degree includes teaching in quantitative research methods, data collection, and statistics. This general transformation of police work into a specialised research topic allowed a researcher like myself to gain access to law-enforcement premises. In terms of EUBAM, all contact was coordinated between me and assistant-level employees; even when a superior approved my visits, no top-level management ever paid attention to my visits or the potential outcome of my research. In the case of the

[20] As I discuss in chapter six, the basic training of Danish police officers was recently changed again; this time, it was shortened to two-and-a-half years due to a growing demand to expand the police force in light of an increasing number of guarding tasks plus a large generation of police officers who would soon retire.

Danish National Police, the institution's increasing awareness of itself as a knowledge-producing part of the Danish state seemed to be the main reason for the access I was granted. Such access is however not unproblematic.

In Hess' study of "knowledge loops" within border and migration management, she describes how the apparent congruence between her scientific methods and the outcome that her interlocutors within the organisation were interested in obtaining for their own work, sometimes got her into trouble because her knowledge project was in fact not always compatible with theirs. In my case, being recognised as a knowledge producer was indeed also a double-edged sword. For professionally trained border experts, the borders of Europe involved laws, regulations, legislation, and a Frontex–Social Sciences understanding of the geography of Europe. For me, it involved modes of cooperation and transformation, expectations and responsibilities, and practices of connecting and disconnecting. When I, as a researcher from a university, did not seem to know all of the regulations, laws, or policies – or had to ask twice what a certain regulation from the European Parliament meant – my position as a knowledge producer was sometimes questioned. In the following, I want to share a story that epitomises how my role as a 'knowledge producer' was simultaneously a door-opener, a cause of confusion, and also a symptom of the way borders are managed as knowledge objects in the current border- and migration-policy paradigm.

A lesson in what it means to police the borderless Europe

Early in my fieldwork process, a former PhD Fellow from the University of Copenhagen, put me into contact with a coordinator of European cooperation regarding training and education at the National Police of Denmark. This PhD fellow had held the position of Research and Science Correspondent at CEPOL, and was now happy to find a replacement for the position. The PhD fellow and the coordinator suggested that it would be interesting for me, and their selling point was that the position would not entail anything more than participating in an annual conference about police research. Unsure of what to make of a position with no tasks, I nevertheless agreed to accept the role, thinking that it could be an interesting way to engage with the professionalisation and Europeanisation of police work in a European context, as well as a platform through which to gain contacts. And, with the title of Research and Science Correspondent, I was indeed able to make some of my initial contacts. I always stressed that the University of Copenhagen was funding my project, and that my research had not been developed through cooperation with the Danish police; I also specified the

circumstances of my role as a Research and Science Correspondent. Although the title opened doors for me, it also disturbed matters inasmuch as I had immersed myself in the growing field of the academisation of police work, which was still new territory to much of the Danish police. *"We have academics in the police, too"*, a contact person wonderingly told me when informed about my Science and Research engagement. And indeed, with the increased focus on training activities, a growing number of anthropologists and other academics were being hired within the organisation, and they were conducting a range of knowledge work, e.g., evaluating organisational structures and working environments, or collecting and analysing data and material on particular subject matters. However, by assigning the role to me, an external, the science and research coordinator had attempted to build a bridge between universities and the police, which should support the increased academicisation of police work through applied police research.

In the end, my actual engagement as a Research and Science Correspondent consisted of participation in the Annual CEPOL Police Science Conference in Lisbon, and an annual meeting for Science and Research Correspondents and E-learning tool managers in Budapest that focused on assessing the user interface of a science journal's database (both of which took place in October 2015). My participation in these two events was followed by a meeting with the coordinator during which I was invited to share my experiences. Shortly thereafter, in December 2015, the Danish government voted to opt out of EUROPOL and thereby CEPOL cooperation, and the future of Danish police's engagement in this was unclear. A few months later, I took maternity leave. What remained from my engagement as a correspondent was contact with the people I had met through this process, and my unclear role as knowledge producer. However, what had indeed felt like a somewhat failed involvement had also indubitably been a lesson in the increased academisation of police work, in which applied research and close connection to higher education institutions were increasingly valued. Further, my brief engagement also made me aware of two, different realms of cooperation, training and research within the European Union: one regarded cooperation *within* the Schengen area, and another regarded border enforcement at the common, external borders. These two realms were institutionally divided, as the former was managed by CEPOL and the latter by Frontex. This division also showed organisationally within Danish Police, as there on the one hand, was a division for science and international cooperation and a unit for training and continuing education with regards to police cooperation, joint ventures, and crime prevention, which was managed by the Danish Police Academy and embedded within the

CEPOL framework. On the other hand, training and international cooperation in relation to border control was under the direction of the Border Control Unit, which cooperated with Frontex in Warsaw. The different units did not relate to each other, to the same type of training or research activities. In a European cooperation devoid of borders, the main issues were always framed in terms of cooperation and joint efforts related to cross-border crimes, and 'border' should only be addressed in terms of external borders, and related to Frontex's headquarters in Warsaw and to Brussels. Further, the accelerated development of applied research supported the sharp division between the completely different infrastructures and vocabularies related to the internal and external borders of the European Union.

Keeping the conversation going

The above accounts show how my role as a researcher, or knowledge producer, intertwined with different kinds of research or knowledge products. However, even if my role as a researcher and an academic granted me access and shaped my relation to certain 'gatekeepers', managers, and superiors, it was not the only relation I shared with other parts of the police or the border experts with whom I interacted. At times, my profession and my methods as an ethnologist would conflate with those of a border official: the preoccupation with how to observe and what to look for, interview and note-taking techniques, and the search for something that you are not sure you will find (cf. Hald 2011). At other times, I was also an employee in the public sector just like the border officials (subject to cut-backs and excessive administration), I was from a nearby region in Denmark, I was the same age as somebody's daughter who also lived in Copenhagen, I was from Scandinavia, or I was simply someone interested in the 'deeper meaning of things' – I brought forth whatever aspect would help relate to a particular interlocutor.

In that sense, both my role and the way that sites were bound in the encounter between me and an interlocutor were not locked in one specific kind of interaction and relationship; rather, they took on different shapes through the process of field research. At times, it halted or ended the conversation, or it diverted me from where I thought I was headed; at other times, it opened up new questions and topics. In that regard, the duration of the fieldwork did not lead to an overcoming of different bounds, misunderstandings, and confusion. However, what did change was my ability to recognise that I was not merely engaged in an ambition to localise the "different universes of border control" (cf. Bigo 2014) that my

interlocutors represented (as "an object found", to recall Candea): I was very much engaging in – and committed to – showing other relations and combinations of the border as well as bounding the border myself. This is reflected in the analytical chapters in which my presence as a *field*-worker takes on different shapes; I sometimes appear very present, at other times not. However, my role as a field-*worker* is recurrent in the sense that I do not suggest that I am representing or speaking on behalf of my interlocutors. Instead, I also bound specific versions of the bordering of Europe through the analytical work – specifically, by taking the everyday discussions or speculations regarding the border officials' working conditions and putting them into dialogue with other parts of the fieldwork as well as specific theoretical concepts. As a result, the dissertation's four main analytical chapters are constructed in conversation with the entirety of my field material. By attending to questions, discussions, and topics that were pertinent in several of the conversations, encounters, observations, and readings that took place in diverse settings, I bring them forth by attending to moments in which they stood out in particularly relevant or interesting ways (i.e., as remarkable, subtle, emergent, or fading phenomena). In the chapters that follow, I often frame a story, a punchline, or a peculiar work situation as the locus of the chapter, and I use the encounters, the fieldwork, and the printed material and/or media to explicate the context around it in order to show what made this situation stand out as particularly noticeable to me or my interlocutors.

The site presentations that opened this chapter suggest that my three main fieldwork locations could all be the starting point for endless questions and discussions. They complement each other, while evoking the same topics. An example: EUBAM's export of border standards magnifies these very standards through posters with slogans and pictures of smiling people cooperating (see chapter four). However, standards are also exported to (or imported by) the Danish police who have to implement new ways to train personnel and must adhere to Frontex's guidelines regarding the charter of Human Rights (see chapter five). The discussion about the use of resources, which was recurrent amongst Danish police, is also at stake in EUBAM, where a military organisation of border control is perceived as a waste of resources (see chapter six). Transformations of territory were expressed through a preoccupation with the demarcation of the borderline between Moldova and Ukraine, and in a struggle over the aesthetics of the borderlines' historical landscape at the Danish–German borders. In other words, I have been curious to explore the same sorts of concerns and questions in the different localities, and I have had them answered in both similar and different ways as well as in various intensities, tempos, and shapes. Throughout my field

research and analytical work, these questions have worked as an 'inverted telescope' that allowed me to compare, maximise, minimise, and notice in new ways. In that sense, the four analytical chapters are thus not merely summations of discussions or preoccupations that played out in a specific site, but rather evokings of my specific modes of comparison and analytic interest, which were shaped in tandem with questions and answers as well as conversations and observations that took place in other settings.

Revealing and critique: 'it doesn't look good'

Before ending this chapter, I want briefly to discuss the nature of the field material that I present in this dissertation. As mentioned, I was at times recognized by interlocutors as a knowledge producer who could feed into the "knowledge loop", as Sabine Hess (2010) calls it. However, since it was indeed my role as a researcher and potential knowledge provider that granted me access and shaped my relation to managers, superiors and other interlocutors, was I thereby hitched to producing knowledge for the same system as my interlocutors? Or was I, on the contrary, there to catch them red-handed and reveal the actual matter of things?

In a blogpost, which discusses the ethics of field research in border enforcement facilities, anthropologist Katerina Rozakou urges researchers to critically assess why they seek to enter certain places (2017). She discusses her attempts to gain access to a notorious migrant camp on the Greek island of Lesbos, which with its location just thirty kilometres of the Turkish coast has been a central spot in the struggles over European borders and migration for more than two decades. Attempting to gain access to the camp she was met with the accusation that her presence was only adding to the commotion in the camp. Trying to gain access to the site, she was met at the entrance by a (literal) gatekeeper who said that, ""*People come and say 'I am writing an article'. They just appear on the front gate and they demand to enter. Everybody uses the same excuses: I want to see how the space has changed; I am not like the others* [researchers, journalists]; *I have a different approach; I am not visiting the zoo*"" (Rozakou 2017). Emphasising the importance of researchers gaining access to politically and ethically controversial places, Rozakou nevertheless warns against flocking to the same over-researched places. She criticises researchers, journalists and others who seek entry to such places for too often only offering accounts that could just as well have been written from a distance (Rozakou 2017). In the following, I will relate Rozakou's call to reflect on what is gained from *being there* to the discussion of the use of ethnography as evidence (cf. Kirsten Hastrup 2004). I will do this by attending to a situation during my

fieldwork in which the everyday racism of the bordering of Europe presented itself as a topic during a field visit to the airport of Copenhagen.

As I joined two officers on a so-called 'gate check'. Gate checks are randomized immigration controls of internal Schengen flights, e.g. flights that are not subject to border control as travellers come from another EU/Schengen destination. Today, the gate check was at an arrival which the police referred to amongst themselves as the 'Somali Express' – an EasyJet arrival from Milano. Because of colonial ties between Italy and Somalia, Italy, as the only EU country, grants asylum and residence permits to Somalis. The police had often experienced Somalis using their Italian residence permit to travel legally to Denmark and Sweden, however with the intention of reuniting with family and friends and stay illegally, I was told. At the end of the day I wrote in my field notes:

> *"The plane lands, and the passenger control begins. I stand awkwardly in the background. HC and LA let most passengers pass without showing passports. Only black or Arab-looking passengers are asked to show their passports and asked about the purpose of their stay. I get quite uneasy seeing how consistent they are in their ethnic profiling. I am wondering how to discuss this with them in a constructive way. A family is pulled aside to have their papers looked through. They have two small children who are crying a little, and I have to really pull myself together to not start to cry, too. The family's papers are apparently in order; in any case, they are allowed to continue. After the check of passengers had ended, LA says to me, "Yes, you could say that we mostly take out those that are a bit more tanned than the rest of us". LA brings up the topic himself. "But we cannot stop a lot of Danes just to make it look nice", HC inserts – an argument that I have met before. "We take a few* [Danes] *every once in a while", LA explains. Both of them, however, share the understanding that the reason they pick the people they do, is because all experience shows that these are the ones who break the law. I ask the two officers about the article in the Schengen Border Code that prohibits discrimination, and how they try to ensure the balance between profiling and discrimination. "Well", LA explains, "you have to be able to account for why you have stopped someone". He continues to explain that the 'civilians'* [newly employed non-police staff] *scan many more passports that they should – but if they "have checked a 90-year old grandmother", they have to be able to account for why they did it - if they get a complaint, or if it is noted that too many passports are checked. So, you have to be able to account for the kind of profiling that was the basis for the control. "But it's true, it really does not look good", I insist 'to be*

> *stopping only people with another ethnicity". "No, but that is how it is. Where I live, it is also a certain group of people that makes all the trouble". We continue our talk about the dilemma in profiling and discriminating, but the dilemma remains unsolved. We return to the guardroom, I eat some food, and LA tells me about his deployment to the airport of Vienna…"*
> (Author's field note, February 2015)

This field note contains a range of explicitly awkward ways of addressing ethnicity (e.g. "more tanned than us") as well as some implicit boundary work that both the police officers and I, all three white, participated in by referring to the people in question as "other than us", as having "another ethnicity". At times during my fieldwork, I explicitly asked about violence or discrimination, at other times – as in this excerpt from my field notes - my presence made officers themselves address a topic that they figured I might pick up on. On occasion, superiors would warn me against the 'tone' among police, encouraging me to not take it at face value, but rather as jargon. Nonetheless, what I was studying was in every sense a violence-producing system. As such, in every question I asked, and in every answer I got, violence was somehow embedded. The question I want to ask, therefore, is whether the situation recounted in my field notes reveals the European Union border system as racist and discriminatory? Does it document it? I would argue that it does not. Rather, it urges me to further study the similarities and differences between 'discrimination', 'profiling' and 'ethnicity' that are being set in motion in the everyday border control in the airport, and in doing so it urges me to explore how such different dispositions or 'scales of value' are coordinated or not (cf. Hastrup 2014: 57) in the work of the border police.

In my work, I have therefore been cautious to not use fieldwork as examples or evidence, because this puts the material in the immediate risk of becoming anecdotal, and thereby easy to dismiss as particular. In a reflective article about the role of academics in polemic fields of study, anthropologist Ruben Andersson contemplates the difficulties of being a public voice and pitfalls such as having one's ethnography boiled down to one anecdote or even to one argument among others, which can then be countered by a political view point (2018). What I argue here is that defining fieldwork or ethnographic insights as evidence or information to be revealed entails the risk of it being dismissed as anecdotal or not representative. In other words, my reason for 'being there' was never to reveal or catch someone red-handed so as to be able to document or reveal misconduct. I do not understand the material that has been generated through my field research process as evidence in any way. Rather than using material anecdotally or as evidence, I attempted throughout the fieldwork and the production of analysis to

constantly draw attention to ways in which connections were drawn or separations established. In their dismissal of critique as the unveiling of hidden information about dubious agendas, Natalia Brichet and Frida Hastrup write that, *"Critique, then, is not a matter of distance or demolition, but rather attention towards possibilities of thinking beyond the stereotypes"* (Brichet & Hastrup 2014). I would like to add to this, that the critique I offer from my off-the-beaten-track journey through the bordering of Europe lies in the distortion of the view and the posing of questions by inverting the telescope (Andersen et al 2015).

In the following chapter, I examine the methods of border that EUBAM promotes at the Moldovan–Ukrainian border, showing practices of cooperation and documentation as state-of-the-art measures to efficiently secure borders. However, I also discuss how a range of critical events destabilised the understanding of border, leading to the destabilisation of this method of border. In chapter six, I focus on two Danish border officials who share their accounts of how to navigate between diverse and contradictory demands, standards, and claims to Europe, particularly in situations related to standardising the external borders of the European Union–Schengen area. In chapter seven, I investigate the cry for more resources amongst police officers at Copenhagen Airport, and I suggest that, despite attempts to allocate more resources and training, the border is still full of holes. I use this perspective to discuss the inherent expectations for what a border can be. Finally, in chapter seven, I explore the introduction of temporary border control at the Danish borders with Germany, taking my point of departure in the Danish Prime Minister's promise to "ensure peace and order". In particular, I discuss what kind of 'peace' and what kind of 'order' were established at the border. In the concluding chapter, I address the analytical implications of my research project through a discussion of complicity, critique, and temporality in studies of topical contemporary issues.

Chapter 4: EU borders for peacetime only? Bridging gaps and making-same as border strategies

Officially, Europe Day is celebrated all over the European Union (EU) on the 9th of May to commemorate the first steps that French foreign minister Robert Schuman made towards establishing a union of European nation states in 1950. Since the end of the Second World War, the 9th of May has also been marked as Victory Day of the Great Patriotic War (World War II) in the former Soviet Union; and it is still commemorated today in Russia and a range of former Soviet republics. In 2015, perhaps to avoid conflating things too much, Europe Day was celebrated in the Moldovan capital of Chisinau on the 10th of May[21]. As in the years before and the years after, the main square in the capital was closed to traffic, and endless promotional booths and food stalls were erected on the broad pavement around the triumphal arch that is the capital's landmark. The promotional booths were filled with postcards, pieces of candy, and pens from international NGOs, general consulates, and embassies. The square was like a carnival of nations, of organisations, and interest groups, and the atmosphere was buzzing and light. Children were playing in the square, painting the asphalt with colourful chalk crayons or solving giant puzzles with colourful maps of Europe, while blue and white balloons hovered over the square. A large stage had been erected, and carefree, drum-driven techno-pop blasted in between speeches and classical-music performances. Meanwhile, the city mayor announced that he was pleased with the steps Moldova was taking towards approaching agreements with the EU regarding visa liberalisations. In the back corner of the large square, just between a debate stage and the national custom officers' promotional booth, the European Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) to Moldova and Ukraine had erected a tent. The customs were displaying some of their newest border-control equipment, such as night-vision goggles and mobile document readers, and the EUBAM representatives were handing out postcards and pieces of candy. The merchandise had been quickly snatched up, as it was every year, the public-relations assistant told me.

[21] Several online news articles address the issue of the coincidence between the two holidays, cf. Vlas 2016; Birn 2018. Since 2015, Europe Day has been made an official holiday in Moldova (Vlas 2016).

Celebrating Moldova, Europe and the European Union, 9 May 2015, Chisinau, Moldova

Piecing together Europe: children's activity, giant puzzle with map of Europe, May 2015

The day before, I had visited the assistant in the Chisinau offices of EUBAM. The mission had recently moved from old offices at the premises of the Moldovan Police to modern offices in a brand-new office tower in a new business area of Chisinau. In the large, white, and still very sparsely decorated office, the assistant showed me her cabinet filled with EUBAM merchandise. A stuffed poppy with EUBAM's logo on it, a table calendar with children's drawings from an art competition initiated by EUBAM, car refrigerator magnets, beer coasters, a neck purse, a yoyo, and a variety of other such items with the EUBAM logo on them. *"People like it*", the assistant told me, *"It's nice"*. As we flipped through pictures in a glossy promotional booklet that, under the headline 'Partnership', showed Moldovan, Ukrainian, and EU border guards working side by side, I asked the assistant, *"How do you choose the pictures?"*. She mostly chose photos that depicted the way that people were cooperating, she explained, as we looked at a poster with a fresh-faced young man with a stellar broad smile getting his passport checked by a smiling female border guard.

When I went home that day, I carried a plastic bag with the EUBAM logo stuffed with EUBAM merchandise and I also brought home an increased interest in EUBAM as a site for studying the bordering of Europe. An increased interest that had been fuelled by the 'nice' imagery and the peculiar aesthetics that the mission was promoting, and by the allure of a unified Europe materialised in a stuffed poppy and a pretty picture of strong men and women in uniforms, happily cooperating to fortify Europe. However, as I will show in this chapter, the friendship portrayed on the merchandise and booklets was more than just pure gloss. Cooperation and making-same by bridging gaps was a cornerstone of the method for bordering Europe that EUBAM was exporting to this borderland.

Purpose and structure of chapter

In the site presentation of EUBAM, I mentioned that several studies have shown how EU–Schengen countries push their borders eastward, southward, and outward in an attempt to prevent unwanted travellers from reaching European soil. Such externalisation measures can take on different guises: enlargement, mobility, and visa agreements, bilateral or EU agreements with non-Schengen countries. These measures have been described as a process of securitisation in which the EU establishes strategic partnerships in order to create a buffer zone that prevents unwanted travellers from reaching EU territory (cf. Bialasiewicz 2011). Furthermore, in an analysis of EUBAM, geographer Adam Levy argues that harmonisation and standardisation procedures work as securitisation measures,

since an unstable neighbourhood is not in the interest of the EU (Levy 2011). EUBAM is a particularly interesting case of this sort of buffer-zone method because what is promoted beyond the EU territories here is in fact the very EU–Schengen standards for what is referred to as 'good-quality borders'. In other words, EUBAM not merely exports the standards and ideals for border control; the export itself is part and parcel of what the method that they are exporting. The transformation of this unstable border into a stable border, underpins the stability of the EU, too. In that regard, the transformation of the border in this borderland where EU legislation is not (yet?) implemented, but where EU standards are being promoted in clear-cut messages, makes an interesting place for studying the universal aspirations of the EU proper. Therefore, in this chapter, I offer a reading of EUBAM, which – through a sort of inverted telescope, as introduced in chapter two – tries to capture the logics, measures, and methods of the EU–Schengen border as it is magnified and spelled out in big letters (on merchandise, promotional posters, and training materials) when exported to "not-quite-there-yet" neighbouring countries[22]. In this sense, I am interested in what geographer Doreen Massey calls the "imaginative geography" of globalisation narratives (2005: 82), and I approach EUBAM as part of a specific socio-material knowledge project that aspires to organise spatiality and temporality in specific ways.

According to Massey, the mono-narratives that modernisation and globalisation have generated carry not merely temporal but also spatial logics. In her book, *For Space* (2005), Massey argues that the ahistorical narratives of globalisation present a 'tale of inevitability', which foresees the spread of globalisation to the rest of the world in the sense that it is not a question of 'if' globalisation will cover the globe, but 'when' (Massey 2005: 82). In a vein similar to logics of modernisation, such globalist narratives categorise adversaries as backwards-looking, and as such, they are not merely descriptions of the world; they are powerful imaginative geographies, and the image in which the world is being made (ibid.: 84). Departing from this understanding, I set out to grasp the specificity of the vision that made the Moldovan-Ukrainian borderland appear as a place of potentiality for border transformations. In other words, by studying EUBAM and the methods and border models promoted in Ukraine and Moldova, I am ultimately interested in exploring how the EU was locating itself and others, and ultimately, 'Europe' through the export of standards for border management.

[22] As such, this chapter does not address questions regarding the effectiveness of the mission, the reception of the partner authorities, similarities to and differences from other EUBAM/ENP initiatives, or the alignment or deferral from EU External Action policies. For such studies, see Levy 2011; Jeandesboz 2015.

In the first part of this chapter, I show how - in interviews with EUBAM staff and in official EUBAM materials, such as reports, promotional materials, and statistics - cooperation and predictability was presented as the main methods of transformation. In the second part of the chapter, I try, with the help of Sarah Green (2005) and Anna Tsing, to "go inside the gap" (Tsing 2005: 202); from where it appears that the gaps are relations to elsewhere, and that the EU way of ordering the relationship between past, present and future is merely one amongst others. Finally, with an excerpt from a heated debate between two EUBAM border experts and me, I suggest that the re-emergence the past as a political alternative repositions the European Union's border method, rendering it specific rather than universal; and positions it at the centre of discussions about what kind of Europe is being bordered. Ultimately, through this analysis, the chapter introduces two archetypical approaches to borders that will appear subsequently in different shapes and situations throughout the dissertation's chapters.

Part I: Erasing differences and bridging gaps

A few months after my visit to Chisinau for Europe Day, I travelled to EUBAM's headquarters in the centre of the Ukrainian port city of Odessa. The golden plates on the office doors gave an indication of the areas of expertise covered by the mission: "Border Modernisation Unit", "Analytical and Operational Support Unit", "Transnistrian Settlement Support Office". All of the hallways and offices were decorated with the mission's maps of the border region, marked with field offices and the main border-crossing points, as well as with promotional posters and calendars spelling out the main messages of the mission. When I visited in October 2015, newly printed promotional posters had just arrived and were still sitting on the floor. One of the posters said, *"The Mission works with Moldova and Ukraine to help them meet the EU standards of border management"*, and another said, *"The Mission helps to improve transparency and security along the Moldovan–Ukrainian border"*. These statements were accompanied by photographs of EUBAM staff working alongside local authorities, assisting them in living up to EU best practices at passport checks or when patrolling the green borders. To spell it out, another poster at the headquarters said:

> *"Borders help promote a safe environment in which trade and people-to-people contact can flourish. Effective border management should facilitate, not hinder, legitimate trade and cross-border contact. The Mission is seeking to make such a sustainable contribution to the delivery of good*

> *quality border and custom services to the clients and companies of Moldova and Ukraine to facilitate trade and contacts. Our common aim is a system of border and customs control and border surveillance which meets European standards, and serves the legitimate needs of the citizens of both countries. In its work, the Mission's personnel strive to adhere at all times to its CORE VALUES: RESULTS – PARTNERSHIP – TRANSPARENCY – SERVICE – RELIABILITY".*

This short text contains an overwhelming number of key words that designate both the expectation[23] of what can be achieved through the transformation of borders, and the methods by which to achieve this: safe, contact, flourish, effective, facilitate (not hinder), legitimate, sustainable contribution, good-quality border, common aim, meeting European standards, values, results, partnership, transparency, service, reliability. Intrigued by this sort of language, I spoke to several EUBAM staff members during my visits to the headquarters; they each worked in a variety of areas to transform these catchphrases into actual working methods. The staff with whom I met worked to promote transformation with regards to legislation, data-collection methods, cooperation methods between agencies and authorities in the two countries, and training personnel. In the following section, I draw on these interviews and present three predominant logics which informed the transformation of the border: cooperation; documentation, and change in mentality.

Seeing the same border: cooperation as a method of the border

At the EUBAM headquarters in Odessa, several meetings had been set up for me – one of which was with Constin[24], a seconded border analyst from an EU–Schengen member state. He had been working at the mission for eight years, and his main job was to evaluate the local authorities' progress towards a border system that meets EU standards. Surrounded by the omnipresent promotional posters, we sat down at a large oval wooden conference table in a meeting room to talk about the sort of work that he was conducting.

"Whatever is written in the regulations or methodologies, let's say, are good words, good provisions, but the practice somehow has its own taste. Speaking with people in the field,

[23] I return to a discussion of expectations inherent in the organization of borders and border control in chapter six

[24] Recorded interview October, 2015, and note-registered interview October, 2015; EUBAM headquarters, Odessa.

we get the real idea of what should be the methodology for change," Constin said to describe the way he worked to enhance the 'good-quality border' amongst the local authorities. According to Constin, the first important lesson in bringing about a transformation of the border had been to acknowledge that the authorities of the two partner countries, Moldova and Ukraine, needed to change their way of seeing the border. *"They need to see the border in the same way to be able to detect the threat,"* he explained, indicating that the local authorities had not previously been engaged with 'the same' border. In Constin's understanding of a border, it takes two sides to protect a border; if the two sides do not have the same information or view about potential threats, then they cannot properly defend the border against such threats. As a consequence of this understanding of the border, Constin had devoted his time to developing an infrastructure that would facilitate cooperation between the local authorities, their data systems, and other channels of information exchange at the municipal, regional, governmental, and bilateral levels. During his time at the mission, Constin had worked to establish monthly meetings between the relevant national and regional authorities, and had promoted the importance of exchanging information, data, and knowledge about issues related to the border. The meeting infrastructure was an important step to ensuring that the local authorities could approach the border in the same way.

The imperative to see the same border and to cooperate with the authorities of the other side of the border in the name of efficiency and security was also promoted through the introduction of joint border patrols, in which Ukrainian and Moldovan authorities were encouraged to establish tandem patrols along the green borders and at the border-control points. Within this framework, another staffer told me that the construction of a brand-new shared border crossing point in the Moldovan village of Palanca had a certain prestige to it.[25] Scheduled to open in late 2018, the project was promoted by the UNDP Moldova under the headline, *"Fast, comfortable, and efficient (…) 20% less time spent"* (UNDP Moldova 2017[26]). The project was fully funded by the EU (ibid.), and the construction and implementation of the border-crossing site would be a major and spectacular project in a region otherwise riddled by unemployment. The new border crossing point was thereby used to generate growth and prosperity in the region inasmuch as the construction of the border crossing point meant that the connection of the region would enable farmers to travel more easily to their land lots on the other side of the border, that the construction of the building would create jobs, and that the joint infrastructure would pave the way for further cooperation between

[25] Recorded interview, October, 2015; EUBAM headquarters, Odessa.
[26] United Nations Development Programme

Moldovan and Ukrainian authorities. Further, the construction of a common border crossing point marked the closure of a dispute over territory in this area, in which Moldova and Ukraine had been in deep disagreement about where to draw the borderline (Kuzio 2007: 27). With the project to build a new border-crossing point from the ground up, the "core values" of EUBAM had the potential to flourish. The potential of the border to be efficient – both with regards to security and with regards to the easy passage of people and goods – could be achieved through this partnership.

The imperative to cooperate has also been studied by ethnologist Alexandra Schwell who in her study of German-Polish border cooperation shows how border guards are no longer supposed to guard a 'national border' but to work together to protect the EU against a common, external threat (2017: 285). Further, anthropologist Karolina Follis has studied how Ukrainian border authorities helped bring forth their own exclusion by partaking in ENP partnership and cooperation programmes by a method which *"cultivates proximity and creates distance"* (Follis 2012: 22). What I am interested in adding in this chapter is how the very understanding of border as cooperation and the imperative to see the 'same border' was a very specific *constellation* of border: a border which was concerned with drawing relations and overcoming of differences.

Predicting the future by knowing the past: documenting and analysing as methods of the border

The development of documentation and evaluation methods was another crucial potential of the border that EUBAM promoted amongst the local authorities. Such projects came in many guises and with different objectives, and during my visits and interviews at the headquarter. The many data collection projects that different offices in the mission were conducting with the aim of producing statistics and analysis about the border, was presented to me as primary products of the mission's work. One staff told me about how he had initiated a study of the traffic at the local border crossing points aimed at finding out how to minimize the waiting time for travellers.[27] Another highlighted the production of an extensive report about the two important sea ports of Odessa and Illichivs'k (2014), which through the method of 'gap analysis' identified the main processes and challenges regarding efficiency and security in the two sea ports (EUBAM 2014: 10).[28] A third

[27] Recorded interview, October, 2015; EUBAM headquarters, Odessa.
[28] Recorded interview, October, 2015; EUBAM headquarters, Odessa.

staffer explained the process of producing of monthly risk analysis assessments[29], which building on collected data could document recent activities and thereby help paint a picture potential threats at the border[30].

In my conversations with Constin, he explained how, in order to ensure efficiency as well as security, the border had to be turned into an object of analysis. He pointed out that, in the system he was promoting, the future looks like the past in the sense that by documenting, collecting information, and evaluating past activities, future threats, and thus measures to counter them, are defined. The Moldovan and Ukrainian authorities were therefore encouraged to establish infrastructures for collecting data about the activities at the border-crossing points, such as: number of passengers, number of refusals, documentation of incidents at the border, fraud, etc. Currently, EUBAM was setting the example by developing analysis which could inform the local authorities' transformation of the border. Eventually, as Constin explained, when such data-collection infrastructures were established, the local authorities could start to systematically work with the data as the basis for future measures to control the mobility and flow of goods across the border. Systematic collection of data and the development of strategic analysis, called *risk analysis*¸ would provide the entire chain of border authorities with, in Constin's words, *"a system of knowledge that, in the end, gives the border guard the concrete information he needs in order to know what to look for and who to stop."* The data should be collected in a way that would allow it to be transformed into knowledge that could be analysed and eventually return as hands-on knowledge applied in the actual border-control situation. In Constin's words:

> *"The EU standard is to make as few as possible checks with maximum results. That means to minimize the difference between how many controls you make and how many hits you have got. When* [hits and control] *become 1:1, it means you are perfect. When I ask for your passport, and I select you for deep control, I will find heroin. And 100 persons before and after you – they'll just pass. This is the effectiveness."*

This quote epitomises the method that EUBAM promotes, in which an intelligence-led system strategically stops, and strategically lets through. Border scholar William Walters (2006) coined the term *firewall* to describe this process of how the border filters between legitimized and illegitimated travellers. According to Constin's definition, a "good-quality border" requires the border guard at the

[29] Recorded interview, October, 2015; EUBAM headquarters, Odessa.
[30] Besides this kind of analysis which aimed at predicting and knowing the border, weekly, monthly and annual reports were also produced to document the activities of EUBAM.

actual border-crossing point to have sufficient information to know exactly what to look for; the guard must be able to make the right decision at the right time, which requires an infrastructure that supports the development of a risk-and-threat analysis of what might occur at the border.

Changing the mentality amongst border guards

Constin pointed out how the transformation of the Moldovan-Ukrainian border necessitates the creation of a working environment in which "the right decision" (from the point of view of EUBAM) is the easy decision to make. As Constin explained, "the right decision" depends on cooperation at multiple levels as well as the documentation of past activities. However, the success of the transformation also regards the professionalism of the border guards, and the mind-set with which they approach the border. In other words, from EUBAM's point of view, the transformation of the border also requires a change in mentality. Constin continued to explain that:

> *"If the border guard has easy access to information, he can take a decision – but if he has difficult access to information, or if it takes a long time – you cannot detain a person, so he has to make a decision fast – and he knows that the databases belonging to another agency doesn't give him information – he tends, personally, as an individual, to let the person go, because he say 'I do not want problems, why should I take a risk…, I have to go out of the shift now…' So that is the issue of the system if it is easy to facilitate control or not. If you are stressed, you do not work professionally. So we try to make the system enhance checks"*.

As Constin explained, the documentation and evaluation of activities at the border was ultimately about helping the border guard on the ground. However, this presupposed a border guard which was capable – in terms of work ethics and legal foundation – to act. The transformation of the mentality was also pushed by the day-to-day interaction between EU border experts and the local border guards at the border-crossing points; especially in the early years, the mission was deeply involved in developing training activities and study trips for the local authorities (EUBAM 2008; 2011). In a report coordinated by EUBAM with the title, *"Preventing and Combating Corruption: Manual for conducting the training course in the educational establishment of the Border Guard and Customs agencies of the Republic of Moldova and*

Ukraine" (2013)[31], a competences specification includes the following topics: team-building, flexibility of thinking, management, sociability, motivation, managerial activity, planning, decision-making and time distribution (Hugyik et al. 2013:6-7). These training activities reflect the mentality, which is promoted, which entails talking in a service-minded way, not asking questions in an overly inquisitive manner, working efficiently as to not take up travellers' time. These competences all push towards ensuring the sort of good-quality border that is promoted in EUBAM's official statements.

However, as Constin pointed out, often, the problem for the local border guards could be that they were so restricted by the legislation and institutional hierarchies that they were not able to act independently, or flexibly, and therefore a change in mentality had to go hand in hand with institutional and legislative changes. At the outset of EUBAM's mandate period in 2005, border-guard services in Moldova and Ukraine were organisationally structured under the auspices of the Defence Ministry, whereas many border-guard services within EU member states had transitioned from military structures to civilian structures, such as police or other law-enforcement authorities.[32] Many of the EUBAM experts were deployed from EU member states in which the border guards or border police had undergone the same sort of transition.

As the above suggests, the discourses of transformation relied on a range of contrasting frameworks which divided the border in to a 'now' and a 'before'. In Constin's explanations, he both explicitly and implicitly drew contrasts to the kind of border that the Moldovan and Ukrainian authorities saw prior to EUBAM's assistance activities. Thus, according to Constin and his colleagues, the method that needed to be left behind was referred to as a 'militaristic approach'. This way of doing things was characterised by a lack of cooperation, a lack of systematic documentation of events at the border, and the presence of strong hierarchies – all of which came at the expense of the initiative and prevented the border guard on the ground from "knowing what to look for" and ultimately "making the right decision". EUBAM staff often summed up the militaristic approach to borders as a *"100% approach to border control"*, referring to the fact that every single person

[31] The report is produced by a range of actors: EUBAM, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the National Anti-corruption Centre of the Republic of Moldova, Customs Services of the Republic of Moldova, Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova, State Border Guard Services of Ukraine, and the Ministry of Revenue and Duties of Ukraine, Customs Department (Hugyik et al. 2013). The multitude of actors involved points to the diverse stakeholders and interests involved in the transformation of the management of the Moldovan–Ukrainian borderline.

[32] The Moldovan border guards, however, transitioned from the Moldovan Defence Ministry to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 2012; at the time of this writing, Ukraine had not.

crossing the border would be stopped and searched. However, according to EUBAM staff, the problem with such an approach was both that it was too time-consuming for travellers, and that it was not successful enough in its control. The "militaristic way of doing things" was defined in contrast to what Constin and his colleagues promoted. The differences between these approaches was epitomised in the terms "border management" and "border control", each of which designated a very different kind of border: one was preoccupied with bridging gaps through cooperation and predictability as a way to manage a threat; the other used a lack of cooperation and predictability as a way control a territory by retaining gaps.

On the road to Europe: harmonising and standardising in the name of progress

In their assessment of EUBAM's accomplishments, political scientists Xymena Kurowska and Benjamin Tallis (2009) point to two political developments that made the ragged borderland between Moldova and Ukraine become visible as an area of interest, and which paved the way for the establishment of EUBAM. One was the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004, a series of civil-resistance protests during which a pro-Russian president was overthrown in exchange for a candidate who, at the time, was considered to be a liberal-minded and Europe-friendly leader[33]. The second remarkable political development was the approaching accession of Romania to the EU (in 2007), which would make the small and extremely poor country of Moldova an EU neighbouring country. According to Kurowska and Tallis, the congruence of these events made the border region appear as a space of interest for the European Union.

The appearance of this borderline resonated with the gradual visibility of Eastern Europe throughout the 1990s and 2000s from the point of view of Western Europe and an evolving European Union, for whom this part of Europe had been widely neglected or forgotten through 50 years of communist rule and Cold War politics (Dzenovska 2018: 16). During the 1990s, in the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact and in the midst of a deepening of the EU cooperation amongst Western European countries, a wide range of promotional programmes in Eastern Europe were initiated in order to sustain the societal, political, and economic changes in Eastern European countries. A number of

[33] For a compilation of studies about the origins, impact, and aftermath of the Orange Revolution, see Kuzio (ed.) 2009.

ethnological and anthropological studies have been concerned with understanding the transitions from socialism to capitalism, and the reunification of the Eastern and Western parts of Europe through the study of labour markets (Dunn 2004), tolerance-promotion programmes (Dzenovska 2018), or EU food-quality standardisation programmes (Gille 2016), to mention a few (see also Burawoy et al. 1999 and Hann et al. 2002). Within the field of border and migration studies, Karolina S. Follis has studied the Europeanisation of the Polish Border Guard (Follis 2012), and Alexandra Schwell has examined the cooperation imperative brought on by Polish and Austrian border police (2008). Despite the many regional and sectorial differences, the common point of departure in these works is that they study how Eastern European societies have been subject to a directive to transform in relation to a yardstick that was held up by someone else (Western Europe), and which ordered the past, the present, and the future in a specific way. Thus, these anthropological studies critically scrutinise notions such as 'transition', 'progression', and 'catching up', which dominated colloquial, political, and scholarly discourses (Burawoy & Verdery 1999; Hann et al. 2002). Such critique resonated with the broader field of anthropological studies, which has been invested in studying the multiple roads to modernity that counter representations of 'modernisation' as having a single face – or pace (cf. Chakrabarty 2000; Gaonkar 2001).

Gaps as the seams of universality

Building on these studies which have critically assessed the discourse of transition and its integral ways of ordering past, present and future, in the remainder of this chapter, I however follow Anna Tsing and Sarah Green and dive into the notion of 'gaps', which allows for an analysis which pays attention to the simultaneity and incompleteness of modernization projects.

Anna Tsing and Sarah Green suggest that paying attention to gaps can serve as a useful analytical entrance to studying the lives of modernisation projects. In her study of the divisions nature and sociality, Tsing writes: *"Gaps as the conceptual spaces and real places into which powerful demarcations do not travel well"* (2005: 175), and that they as such indicate the incompleteness or limitations of universals, which claim to be able to travel everywhere (ibid.: 176). In other words, "*gaps develop in the seams of universally aspirant knowledge projects, and they are found where such projects have not been successful in setting all the terms*" (2005: 202). Similarly, in her studies of the reopening of the Greek–Albanian border in the 1990s in the wake of communist and fascist divisions, Sarah Green examines how different

modernisation projects have 'jostled' through time: regionalism with nationalism, environmentalism with industrialism, liberalism with communism. She argues that such jostling "*highlights the numerous gaps left by attempts to apply various forms of 'modernization' to places and peoples (…)"* (Green 2005: 219). In that sense, gaps reveal *"the unfinished business or left-overs of previous attempts to separate things out in the place, and it therefore highlight the way the separation had not been, and probably could not be, completed"* (ibid.: 224–225). Analytical attention to gaps thus works as a method to understand the limits and aspirational aspect of knowledge projects, and as reminders that gaps only appear as such from certain perspectives, and as such that they constitute relations to elsewhere. With Tsing and Green in mind, in the following section I go into the gaps that EUBAM staff pointed out, with an aim to further understand the bridging methods that were promoted by EUBAM in a field office at a border-crossing point.

Part II: Detecting gaps and relativizing the border

Within the vocabulary of EUBAM, the logic of 'transition' appears in terms of "meeting European standards" (e.g., EUBAM 2008: 1; 2010: 10; 2011: 20; 2013: 7; 2014: 8), and a central figure is the "gap" (cf. EUBAM 2015: 16; 2016: 14). Both terms – meeting standards and gap - designate a difference between the way things are 'now' and the way they should be (in the 'future'). During my visit to the EUBAM headquarters, after having been put on hold several times, I was informed that I would be allowed to visit one of the mission's field offices at a border-crossing point between Moldova and Ukraine, and at this occasion I got the chance to develop my understanding of what 'meeting standards' and closing 'gaps' entails.

In addition to the headquarters and two main country offices, EUBAM encompasses six field offices that are located along the Moldovan–Ukrainian border. Each field office covers an area that includes a number of local, national, or international border-crossing points. The daily presence and interaction are thus a means to ensure adherence to EU standards and, in the field offices, the EUBAM experts work alongside the Ukrainian authorities as constant sparring partners with whom one can discuss the action required in a certain situation. The EUBAM field office of Kuchurhan covers a train station, a large, international border-crossing point, and a number of local border-crossing points that are only open for local residents to cross or on special occasions. This field office has been provided with two small offices on the local authorities' premises: one at the train station, and one at the main, international border-crossing point. At the train station, the

field office is located in the station building, a worn-down concrete building from the 1950s, in all ways very far from the polished golden doorplates at the headquarters. The field office is a small room darkened by wooden wall panels and window bars. The walls are filled with land maps, and here EUBAM border experts and a local translator work behind large computer screens and piles of papers and documents. In general, the border experts' work consists of assisting, following, helping, participating, and making oneself useful and available for consultation in diverse situations. My host for the day was Niculai, a border expert from EUBAM. When we met at the train station, he was dressed in dark-blue outdoor clothing with EUBAM logos and a cap with the stars from the EU flag, an outfit that also shows in all the brochures and posters. In these pictures, the EUBAM staffer dressed in dark-blue is always accompanied by uniformed local authorities. I had previously talked to an EUBAM staffer in Chisinau who had informed me that the EUBAM clothing was not to be considered as a uniform but as *visibility* clothing[34]. This visibility clothing did not have a coat of arms or rankings, as EUBAM does not have any law-enforcement mandate and does not represent any local authority at the borders. Therefore, the distinction between a uniform and visibility clothing was crucial to the EUBAM staff. The clothing's design reflected the constant balancing act, which Niculai explained to me was required in a job as a EUBAM expert working alongside the local partners. A balancing act between promoting change and adherence to EU standards, and respecting the authority of the local border guards. Therefore, the job also required thorough knowledge of both local legislation and EU standards in order to be able to provide viable assistance that could help promote making the 'right decision'.

Niculai repeatedly talked in terms of "adhering to EU-Schengen best practices" and about the many "gaps" between the EU standards and the local conduct, and explained how his job consisted of joining the local authorities in their daily work and helping them close these gaps so that they could be in compliance down to every detail. Niculai and his colleagues participated in the documentation of the border by documenting the sorts of assistance and pieces of advice that they passed on to the local border guards. This form of 'advice' is a written suggestion that is composed after consultation with EUBAM colleagues and the Head of Field Office; it is addressed to one or both of the local partner authorities with a goal to change the conduct or practice regarding specific matters. Such 'advice' can refer to simple issues, such as proper toilet conditions for passengers, adequate lighting that ensures visibility at night, or accurate signposting, or they can target more

[34] Recorded interview May 2015, EUBAM Chisinau Country Office

serious issues, such as a border guard's failure to properly search a car or ensure the safety of passengers at the border-crossing point.

Before passing on a written 'advice', the EUBAM expert would have to consult local legislation and assess within which frameworks the advice could be met. The specific EU standard to which the advice refers must also be described. The expert ensures that the advice is applicable within the national legislative frameworks, e.g. consulting a colleague to obtain their opinion on the matter. Finally, the Head of Field Office approves it, and it is decided on which level to address the advice. After every shift, the EUBAM staffs prepare a report that they send to the Head of Field Office, who prepares a collective report that is passed on to the Headquarters every week. In the report, the EUBAM staff document all the interactions they have had with the local partners. In addition to their daily interaction with local border guards, the job of border experts in the field offices was thus also to contribute to making the borderland measurable, controllable, and predictable through documentation of both interactions and activities at the border. As geographer Adam Levy also argues in his study of EUBAM, the border emerges as specific sort of object that can be controlled through the application of expertise (Levy 2011: 168).

As Niculai showed me around at the border-crossing point, he pointed out all the details that had been or should be subject to change. The border-crossing point was divided into two parts: one part was dedicated to entry into Ukraine, the other to exit. In the middle of the border-crossing point's area was a main building, a yellow-painted concrete building. In between the exit lanes and the main building was a two-way pedestrian lane where pedestrians could exit and enter, which was divided by a tall, yellow fence. In between the two lanes, a larger lane was reserved for border guards and other personnel. The entry and exit lanes were painted yellow and blue, the national colours of Ukraine. Between the bus and car lanes, there was a small booth in which the border guards check passports and search through cars, busses, and trucks. Every vehicle was stopped, and every passenger has to step out of their vehicle, go to the counter of the booth, and show their documents. As we walked around the border crossing point, Niculai pointed out how it had been renovated; e.g., there were now lanes assigned to different kinds of vehicles: one for trucks, one for passenger cars, one for cars with the label CD (Corps Diplomatique, for employees at embassies), and a pedestrian walkway. This division had been put into place in order to adhere to the criteria in the Schengen Border Codex as well as the EU standards for how a border-crossing point should be for it to be the best possible environment for crossing borders. However, Niculai's EU-trained gaze also caught all the faults in this border

environment. There were still many "gaps", he explained, and those gaps needed to be covered in order for the national authorities to establish an infrastructure that would enable the border to be secure; in other words, a border-crossing point that allows the last level of the risk-analysis chain to make *"the right decision"*. For instance, travellers had to get out of their car and go to a counter because the lighting was too poor for the border guards to properly assess travel documents through the window of the vehicles. Ideally, and according to Schengen Codex, travellers should be able to stay in their cars.

Gaps as relations from elsewhere: the chicken-meat scandal and the forged bureaucracy of Transnistria

The question of proper lightning and passenger friendly infrastructure, were however, minor details at this border crossing point, which faced much more complicated and perhaps unbridgeable gaps. The border where Niculai and I were standing looked different from how it did at other places along the Ukrainian–Moldovan border – places where EUBAM was also present, where joint border-crossing points had been established, and where Ukrainian and Moldovan authorities were working side by side. At this particular border-crossing point, it became clear that it was not merely a question of the gaps not 'yet' having been changed (Massey 2005: 82); instead, the question of 'if' things could actually be changed around here was also at stake.

As we walked around the border-crossing point, Niculai pointed across the river towards two border guards standing on the other side of the riverbank. They too were controlling the border and checking passengers' passports, he explained. However, they did not communicate or cooperate with the Ukrainians at the border-crossing point where we were standing. De jure, where we were standing, was the border between the two independent states of Moldova and Ukraine, but it also marked the de facto border between Ukraine and the non-recognised breakaway region of Transnistria. As the result of an armed conflict in 1992-1993, the residents of a strip of land on the eastern side of Moldova along the river Dniester declared their independence; however, the region remains unrecognised internationally (King 1999: 178)[35]. Stabilising the breakaway region was one of the main reasons for establishing the EUBAM mission, as can be read in several documents from the initial opening of the mission in the middle of the 2000s (e.g., eubam.org/publications). Earlier attempts at solving the conflict had failed (King

[35] See Charles King 1999: 178ff for a thorough study on the Transnistrian–Moldovan conflict.

1999: 198), and the region was left as a tiny gap of unfinished business, leading to the popular description of a "frozen conflict" (cf. Sanchez 2009; Bobick 2017).

This "frozen conflict" made up for a very particular kind of gap. What had initially been thought of as a smugglers' paradise for weapons and human trafficking (Turadow & Kallis 2009) had turned out to be a site for smuggling different kinds of contraband goods, which profited from the presence of the gap and the lack of cooperation and predictability at the border. Throughout the years, this resulted in a few major smuggling scandals, such as the so-called "Chicken Meat Scandal", which was described in the following way in a mention in The New York Times in 2006:

> *"It did not take long for the European Union's border experts to spot evidence of the shadowy trade on Ukraine's notoriously porous border with Moldova. It came in an unexpected form, though: frozen chicken from America. "Every time, leg quarters," Torsten Spehr, a German border officer, said at this border crossing with Moldova's self-declared separatist region, Transnistria. In a recent six months, more than 40,000 tons of chicken was shipped, legally, into Transnistria through Black Sea ports in Ukraine, said experts sent by the European Union this year to monitor the border. Because that amounted to 66 kilograms, or 146 pounds, for each Transnistrian, something was clearly amiss. The chicken is reloaded into smaller trucks, often with makeshift refrigeration, and smuggled back into Ukraine. There it is sold at below-market rates, because it evaded customs duties and Ukrainian sanitary inspections, turning a hefty profit - for whom, exactly, is not clear - of nearly $1,000 a ton. "They make more money than they would dealing with weapons," said Joachim Haack, a German who is in charge of the EU outpost here."* (Myers 2006).

The newspaper article goes on to state that the chicken parts were still referred to as "Bush legs", alluding to a programme to ship American poultry to former Soviet republics that was initiated under U.S. President George H.W. Bush in the early 1990s (ibid). More recently, a scandal concerning cigarette smuggling had taken place, in which the reported number of imported cigarettes to Transnistria had been as high as 12 billion; I was told by a border expert from the Transnistrian office[36]. Since the population of Transnistria amounts to merely 500,000 people, the imported number of cigarettes suggested an unrealistic amount per person. The EUBAM staff member explained to me that the disproportionate numbers quickly led to an investigation of the import scam, and that the authorities' theory was that

[36] Recorded interview October 2015; EUBAM headquarters, Odessa.

the cigarettes had never actually entered Transnistria; they had merely been documented as entering the region, but they went straight elsewhere. Interestingly, although internationally unrecognised as a state, Transnistria has its own local currency, authorities, and bureaucracy. The authorities of Transnistria are not solely operational within the region itself; they also cooperate with other countries by importing and exporting goods, for instance. However, Moldovan authorities could not police the (unrecognised) internal border towards Transnistria, as that would be a recognition of the breakaway region. Consequently, the Moldovan authorities could not control what happened from the moment a person or a load of goods left Ukraine and later appeared within the jurisdiction of Moldova. As described above, the lack of cooperation and sharing of information made it *"a black hole"* for smuggling cigarettes and other goods (Bobick 2011: 240), and in which certain actions could not be fully accounted for[37].

In interviews with EUBAM staffs who were working with issues related to Transnistria, this particular gap in the border stood out as a major barrier to the implementation of cooperation and predictability[38]. Indeed, the stabilisation of the borderline was conceived as a necessity for the creation of the sort of 'seeing the same border' that is the basis of cooperation. But Moldovan authorities could not officially cooperate with the Transnistrian border authorities, as this would resemble a recognition of them and, from a Moldovan perspective, they were unrecognised authorities policing a piece of land that officially belongs to the Republic of Moldova. Even so, during the years of EUBAM presence, a number of gaps had been bridged, so to speak. Most notably, according to EUBAM, the signing of a Joint Declaration of a Common Customs Regime, which made companies based in Transnistria subject to the clearance of their goods with Moldovan customs before exporting to and via Ukraine (EUBAM 2010: 5). Similarly, a number of internal customs-control posts were inaugurated along the unrecognised border between Moldova and Transnistria (the "internal boundary" in EUBAM terminology) in order for Moldovan authorities to control exports and imports to and from Transnistria (EUBAM 2008: 17). Nevertheless, from where I was standing together with Niculai, there was still a long way to go before EU standards could be considered as met. Even if Transnistria had initially been part of the incentive for establishing the mission in the first place, the region also played the role as a particularly complicated sort of problem for the mission. This was reflected in the fact that Transnistria was continually delegated to a specific office

[37] For a study dedicated to Transnistria as an unrecognised state, see Michael Bobick (2011; 2017), or Thomas de Waal (2018)

[38] Recorded interviews May 2015, EUBAM field office Chisinau; and October, 2015; EUBAM HQ, Odessa.

in the organisational structure and to specific bullet points in the aims and objectives sections of the annual reports. This indicated that the Transnistrian region was not transformable in the same way as other parts of the Moldovan–Ukrainian border. As it were, the segment appeared to be extraordinarily complicated, and remained an empirical as well as an analytical gap between Moldova and Ukraine: between here and there, between legal and illegal, between then and now.

To recall Green, gaps only appear as such from certain perspectives; from other points of view, they appear full of connections; connections which are sustained by different methods of border. As such, this part of the border could be seen as serving as a latent reminder of the fact that a gap is not merely backwards or empty space of 'not yet'. Rather, what the perseverance of the gap pointed to was that cooperation and predictability were not always the most coveted traits of a border. As I will show in the following, the lack of cooperation and lack of predictability, or in an inverse sense: the retention of the gap and the act of surprise (or unpredictability) can also be a method of the border.

Inside the gap: The past reappears as an alternative to the present

If Transnistria had been frozen as an unbridgeable gap throughout the years of the mission, then during the time just prior to my visit, the presence of other relations had appeared in the most violent way in form of the Russian annexation of territory in Eastern Ukraine in 2014. The annexation reactivated disputes about the right to land, which had been gone for so long that they had come to be considered a thing of the past. *"If two years ago you had said to me that Crimea would no longer be Ukrainian, I wouldn't have believed you,"* said the taxi-driver who took me from Odessa to Kuchurhan, and this resonated with the point of view presented by locals, EUBAM staff, Ukrainian officials, and mainstream European media during those years.

The sudden return of a past geography also put its mark on the part of the border that I was visiting. Niculai further pointed out irregularities to me: the main building of the area was secured with car tires, and the watchtower was covered in camouflage netting. Furthermore, the entrance of the border-crossing point was equipped with iron bars, and the border guards were not dressed in border-guard uniforms, but in military uniforms. As we walked around, the bars were open, but they were closable. Such fortification of the border-crossing point was definitely not in accordance with EU best practices, Niculai underlined; rather, the Schengen

Borders Code describes in detail how to ensure an open, welcoming border-crossing point environment that does not delay traffic (EUR-Lex, Regulation 2016/399). However, these irregularities –car tires, camouflage netting, and iron bars – were not relics in the sense that they had *not yet* been modernised. Rather, these irregularities had been intentionally installed at the border after the crises of 2014.

Later in the day, I got to see how the new techniques of the border-crossing point were employed. As Niculai and I were sitting in the tiny EUBAM office talking about the process of advising and ensuring knowledge exchange, a siren suddenly went off. We got up from our chairs to go outside, and Niculai told me that the siren called for a military exercise in which the Ukrainian border guards practised protecting the border-crossing point in the event of an attack from Russian troops. As the siren wailed, the Ukrainian border guards swarmed outside from their other tasks in hidden-away offices, all of them carrying weapons. They went to the watchtowers and the gates of the border crossing point, and took their positions, aiming their weapons towards the outside of the border-crossing point. Meanwhile, the iron bars at the entrance of the border-crossing point had been closed, and the cars and pedestrians that were crossing had to patiently stand still and wait for the exercise to conclude. The border-crossing point was fortified and, all the while, the siren wailed. With the wailing of the siren, the "EU best practices" of Niculai and Constin disappeared, and a completely different version of the border materialised instead. When the bars closed and the Ukrainian border guards took their positions, the border-crossing point turned into a military base. Rather than facilitating movement across the border, an exercise that aimed to stop all movement was instantly installed. Rather than erasing differences, this was in every way an attempt to underline and keep differences; between Transnistria and Ukraine, between Russia and Ukraine, between ours and theirs, between peace and war. In that sense, the gaps were not sought erased; they were violently upheld and, during those five minutes of the military exercise, they showed themselves to be something other than just a relic from the past.

Inverting the telescope: "EU borders are for peacetime only"

As I stood together with Niculai and his colleague in the middle of the border-crossing point as it re-opened after the exercise, watching the traffic begin to move again and the Ukrainian border guards put their weapons on their backs, something that Constin said came to my mind. During one of our talks at the headquarters, Constin (who had been working to promote the risk-analysis logic

at the EUBAM institution for the past eight years) said to me, *"EU standards are standards for peacetime only,"* adding that, *"Even in the EU, they are now building fences."* He was referring to the unfolding 'European refugee crisis' that, at the time, had led to Hungary's circumvention of the Schengen agreements by building fences towards Serbia.[39] Constin was not the only EUBAM staff member with whom I spoke who relativized the standards and procedures that EUBAM were promoting. Talking about the many steps on the road from a military organisation to a law-enforcement organisation, another staff member I interviewed suggested that this transformation process had recently lost its importance for the Ukrainian authorities, as they were in the midst of war and a deep national crisis. He said:

> *"In 2014, when you were meeting people in Kiev, they were stressed, shocked. Sometimes, I had meetings where* [long time colleagues] *were looking at me, they had lost friends. So it was very difficult to say, 'Well, too bad for you, but you need to develop an IBM strategy and you need to come closer to the European Union'. They had a different problem."*[40]

This EU border expert emphasised that there was a time and place for cooperation, and a time and place for other strategies. Furthermore, he said that the people in the field offices noticed this, too. When border guards who had been posted at the Eastern borders of Ukraine returned, they could not work in the same way. Even if nothing had happened to them specifically, they had lost colleagues and friends, and were in that sense traumatised; everybody knew somebody who had to go to the warzone, he explained. Describing a situation in which the promotion of EU standards was suddenly relativized, his tone indicated a relocation of the view from backwards-looking past to political alternative, saying: "*Also, when I see the military uniforms* [at the border], *I'm like, 'Oh no', but it's not fair – they have a threat from Russia."* The presence of military uniforms at the border was a sign of backwardness and of things moving in a direction opposite to EU standards amongst the local authorities. He said that he almost got "*sick*" when he saw the equipment wish-lists that the local partners sent to EUBAM for EU finances because they were filled with requests for weaponry. He added: *"Two years ago, we all would have been very embarrassed, but now it would be difficult to say anything about it, with the EU having fences in Hungary."* In that sense, BR pointed to two things

[39] In response to the arrival of a large number of refugees and counter to Schengen standards for an external border, Hungary began constructing a wall in October 2015. This is also mentioned in De Genova (2017: 12) and Hess & Kasparek (2017a: 66) as a crucial turning point in the 'European refugee crisis' as it unfolded during the summer of 2015.

[40] Recorded interview October, 2015; EUBAM Headquarters, Odessa.

that relativized cooperation as a method for the border: Ukraine was facing a military threat; and the EU was erecting fences.

The border expert had himself been trained as a police officer in the former Western Germany and recalled a time in which the border police had a military structure because there was a threat from East Germany. However, to see the military infrastructure return now was dizzying for the border expert. In that regard, the border expert's choice of words is interesting. He referred to the presence of military uniforms as 'embarrassing' and said that the demand for weapons had made him 'sick'. The embarrassment indicated that things were not developing in the right direction. However, now, the telescope had turned, and it no longer appeared embarrassing, but reasonable. The turning of the telescope did however leave him somewhat dizzy, or *sick,* as he had been used to a system in which weapons connoted cooperation and predictability and not an equipment wish list.

As I showed, in the narrative of EUBAM, the military was constantly positioned as the past. However, with the return of the military border as a method, the European Union model for borders was put in parentheses, or positioned as a thing with which to amuse oneself during times of peace. In that sense, Constin's notion that 'EU borders are for peacetime only' conveys the circumvention of the European Union's definition of borders which unfolded those years. Through the lens of the military border, the European Union method for borders does not appear as a universal path on the road to progress, but as a specificity in time and place. The relocation of the 'EU border' as a particular version – and not merely as a neutral step on the road towards global liberalism, sheds light back on this European Union method for a border, and it demands certain questions, and answers. Can cooperation and predictability even be potentialities of a border? Can there be borders if there is no difference?

What Europe? What border?

The telescope was indeed flicking back and forth, and the comparisons between a divided Germany, 2014 crises, and the erection of fences within the EU proper, paved the way for the relativizing of the usefulness of methods that EUBAM was promoting and exporting. EU borders were not supposed to be merely for 'peacetimes'. They were supposed to be reliable borders which were secure and efficient. In a journal piece about the Ukrainian crisis and its impact on everyday life in Odessa, anthropologist Tanya Richardson writes that the sudden geography

changes in the wake of the Russian annexation sparked a proliferation of existential and political questions like, *"Who am I?" and "In which state will I be secure?"* amongst otherwise apolitical Ukrainians (Richardson 2014). The sudden erection of border fences within the EU proper also seemed to spark fundamental questions about the sort of Europe into which the EU had developed. A passage from my field notes during the visit to the Kuchurhan border crossing point is emblematic of this unravelling of the imaginative geographies of Europe:

> *"In a small office at a border-crossing point between Ukraine and the unrecognised republic of Transnistria, two EU border experts from EUBAM and I were sipping Lipton fruit tea from plastic cups. They are deployed there, sent out to "assist local partners in adhering to EU standards" (eubam.org), and I am visiting for the day as part of my field research on the borders of Europe. As we were sitting in the office, one of the border experts was reading through online news stories reporting on the large numbers of refugees arriving at the European borders these very weeks. Looking up from his screen, he asked me if a lot of people are coming to Denmark. 'Yes, they are', I answered, 'but it seems that most want but to travel further, mostly to Sweden'. My comment made the border expert ask rhetorically, "Are they even refugees?". He explained that he had been working at an external EU border in south-eastern Europe, and he could not understand how one can be a refugee if they are fleeing from Turkey, which, he claimed, was to be considered as a safe country. At this point, the other border expert joined in, strongly disagreeing. Turkey cannot take all refugees, he objected, and continued to argue that the EU countries must take their turn, especially since the many wars in the Middle East in which the West has participated are a reason why so many people are fleeing, he argued. The first border expert was not convinced by this, insisting that "We cannot have that many Muslims in Europe." Meanwhile, his colleague took the position that "We should be solidary and humanitarian", arguing that "It is not about Islam!" He continued by emphasising that he is against all kinds of extremism – be it Islamism, right-wing radicalism. Rather, he reasoned, people fleeing do not decide in which part of the world they are born – and we are lucky that we were born where we were. He added, "Especially us from the ex-Soviet countries, we know how it is – many people had fled our countries, too, and the world opened its doors to all of them." "But they were not as many", the first border expert objected, and once again highlighted religion as a defining difference from the Soviet refugee situation because the current refugees "are Muslim, and they do not*

> *want to adapt." His colleague put up his hands in defeat, sighing, explaining to me that he has had this conversation one too many times, and it never leads anywhere. Meanwhile, the border expert kept arguing that "They cannot be refugees" but must be economic migrants looking for a better life – how else can you explain that they are able to travel all the way 'up here' with their smartphones? Pointing at a news story on his computer screen, he added, "Right now, there is an increase in rapes in the streets of Scandinavian countries because of the high number of migrants". During the development of this conversation, I had kept quiet, preferring to follow their reasoning rather than bring in my own opinion. However, his last statement made me bite back at him: "Don't worry! Scandinavian women are fine! We're not being raped in the streets." The other border expert laughed at my remark, and blamed his colleague for not sticking to serious news media such as BBC or CNN, instead relying on false rumours spread through Facebook and other unverified media outlets. As we headed to lunch in the little local canteen where all the border personnel eat daily, the border expert resurrected the conversation, complaining that he had often been assaulted by human-rights activists when working at national borders in south-eastern Europe. "Millions of people have left your country to have a better life, too," the other border expert teased him. "Yes. But they travelled legally," he objected. "Yes, of course, they have," his colleague laughed, "because they can! Anyway, I don't want to discuss this anymore. I'd rather talk about Copenhagen." He turned to me and asked, "How is Copenhagen?" trying to get the conversation to be about city life – and his colleague added, "Yes, how is Copenhagen? Are all sorts of ethnicities also mixed together there now?"* (Author's field note October 2015)

Even as I was in the midst of this conversation, it struck me how recognisable it was. The discussion took place in a small run-down town near a disputed borderline in a somewhat forgotten corner of Europe; nonetheless, it seemed emblematic of debates taking place all over Europe during those very months in that particular year. The positions, the arguments, and also, in the end, the dismissal of the discussion: *"I do not want to argue about this anymore."* It is too complicated, or painful, and the two positions are too far away from each other to meet. The border was a sticky topic that clogged together different times and places, aspirations and fears: the past *('they helped us'*), the future *('we cannot take them all'*), women's role and rights, solidarity and humanitarianism, gratitude, protection, democracy and its opposites. The discussion between the border experts and me reflected the difficulties of defining what should be bordered, how

and to what purpose, which appeared in various guises all over Europe that autumn. After years of having seen the connection of Europe as the future and anything else delegated to the past; the connection and expansion were relativized and questioned as European Union member states responded to the insecurities by introducing temporary border control at their national borders. Doing this, they (at least temporarily) bracketed the border as cooperation and making-same; perhaps, until 'peacetimes' could again be assured.

Conclusion: the jostle of past and present

In this chapter, I have used the EU borderlands as an analytical contrast (Andersen et. al. 2015) and let the two archetypical borders – a cooperation-driven, logical approach to *border management* and a militaristic *border control* – appear through the each other. From the edge of Europe, the different aspirations for enforcing borders stand out even more clearly, even if these to sorts of borders jostle in the EU proper, too. In the first part of this chapter, I described how EUBAM staff work to make local authorities "see the same border", and how this 'same' border worked through cooperation and predictability. This meant that the method that Constin and his colleagues promoted was meant to fulfil the border's potentiality by avoiding both spatial and temporal gaps. In order to achieve a 'good-quality border', as the multiple promotional posters publicised, *cooperation* was needed to ensure the erasure of a gap between here and there, between Europe and non-Europe, between past and present. Furthermore, the gap of uncertainty between what had happened before, and what might happen in the future should be bridged by promoting *predictability* through techniques of documentation. Closing the temporal gaps was also effectuated by training local border guards, who had to transition from a military mentality to a service-orientated mentality, in which they stood prepared to 'make the right decision'. EUBAM's object of management was a border of cooperation, predictability, and efficiency in which making-same and erasing differences were techniques used to ensure and secure the border. In that sense, EUBAM did not simply represent or promote EU core values or best practices for the border beyond their own territories. Rather, the very presence of EUBAM in this region was part of the core values or best practices that were being exported. The introduction of cooperation and predictability as the method of the border at the Ukrainian–Moldovan borderline was part of fulfilling the potential of the border within the EU as well: making the unstable neighbouring countries same and predictable. Recalling Doreen Massey's argument that the story of globalisation is *aspatial* in the sense that it seeks to erase differences and make same

(2005: 81), the border that Constin and his colleagues were promoting was indeed a border that was seeking to *erase* or *overcome* differences.

In the second part, however, I went inside "the gaps" which was pointed out by EUBAM staff as not adhering to the EU standards. From inside the gaps, it appeared that these were not merely frozen places of 'not yet', but rather that they were places of other relations and separations, or of alternative versions of the border. As I showed, I was not the only one to 'go inside the gaps' or to point to them as places of alternatives. In the wake of the Ukrainian-Russian crisis in 2014 and the European Refugee Crisis in 2015, the border that EUBAM was promoting was relativized and slowly lost its universal allure, and was revealed as particular and perhaps even limited in what it was able to do. In this regard, the notion of a EUBAM staffer that 'EU borders for peacetime only' was intriguing in as much that it was not part of the mottos on the posters and merchandise that EUBAM spread all over the Moldovan-Ukrainian borderland. Quite the opposite: EU borders were promoted as efficient and secure, both in terms of making travel flourish *and* of combatting crime. In that sense, it was not supposed to be necessary to relativize or exchange this type of border with a militaristic kind of border, which relied on the retention of gaps, or the strategic lack of predictability. However, as I discussed in this chapter, the European Union method for borders was not the only "imaginative geography" in town. The border as military turned out to be not only a thing of the past but also a political alternative: an alternative that works by inserting and maintaining differences rather than trying to conflate and overcome gaps and differences by making-same. In the following chapters, these two archetypes are at play in several ways as I further explore how the border officials I encountered during my field research approached the questions of *what* is bordered, and how to properly border it.

Chapter 5: "In search of excellence": holding together 'the borders of Europe'

In the 2014 promotional publication, "*12 Seconds to Decide: In Search of Excellence: Frontex and the Principle of Best Practice*", the European Union's agency for external borders (Frontex) describes its efforts to enhance cooperation amongst European Union member states with regards to the external borders of the Schengen Area.[41] The publication tells the story of the abolition of border control amongst Schengen-member countries, which turned a state matter into a collective obligation, and thereby required individual states to think collectively (Frontex 2014: 13). In order to achieve this goal, the publication states that Frontex was primarily created to undertake two main processes: the transformation from individual to collective; and the management of this 'collective' (ibid.). As a result, the promotional publication puts particular attention on the role of the border officials, as border officials face challenges that are *"greater and more varied than they have ever been"* (ibid.). The urgency of the publication's title, *"12 Seconds to Decide"*, emphasises the acute, life-defining decisions that border officials must make daily, and which must be handled in an efficient, professional, and ethical manner. Thus, Frontex describes itself as "*an ever-evolving organization dedicated not just to* streamlining *existing practices, but to their constant* improvement *as well. The* pursuit of professional excellence – *the quest to establish 'best practice' on the EU's borders – has become a kind of institutional mantra.*" (Frontex, 2014:15; my emphasis).

In this chapter, I take the words of Frontex (a far from a hegemonic actor, but nevertheless central actor in altering the borders of the European Union) as a point of departure by proposing an analysis that examines how such *streamlining*, *improvement*, and *pursuit of excellence* is encountered in daily work situations at handling the collective borders of Europe. I do this by asking: In the midst of such urgency and transformation, how do border officials make sense of their role, and how do they work to pursue 'excellence'? More precisely, in this chapter, I explore how the request to cooperate, transform, and ensure quality is enacted in everyday

[41] Produced by Frontex's Information and Transparency Team, this publication can be read as a response to the harsh criticism that the agency has received since its establishment; such criticism has positioned Frontex as one of the main symbols of the exclusionary and discriminatory consequences of EU border and migration policies.

work; specifically, in the settings of *joint border-management operations*, and in the *development and dissemination of common core curricula.*

The chapter is based on my interviews with two border experts working for the Border Control Unit of the Danish police, which coordinates actions related to managing the EU borders in Denmark. These interviews are part of a larger compilation of interviews I conducted with Danish police officers and EUBAM staff in addition to my participant observations at the airport and at training sessions – all of which informed my reading of the narratives presented here. In the first account, the Danish police officer Daniel shares his experiences of working joint operations in the framework of the European Border Guard Team. By examining the concepts that Daniel uses, I describe how he conceptualises the difference between him and his European colleagues, although not in a way that prevents them from working together. In the second part of the chapter, I introduce the Danish officer Nina, who teaches Danish police officers Frontex-designed courses in Fundamental Rights. Through Nina's account, I explore how Danish police officers make sense of the Frontex curriculum. Taken together, I argue that Danish police officers both teach and need to be taught how to transform the borders into a collective issue, which also illuminates the different directions and targets of the process to streamline and ensure excellence. However, my main cue for letting these two interviews speak together in this chapter is their emotional investment in the work. In their own way, each of these interlocutors were plunged into the contradictory, difficult, and uneasy mess of bordering Europe while they were simultaneously deeply invested in doing their jobs; i.e., doing the border well. Therefore, their accounts are full of frustrations, hope, pride, disappointment, and simply trying to cope with the challenges posed by daily work at the border. Following anthropologist Nathalia Brichet's call to take misunderstandings or disagreements seriously as moments of cultural friction (Brichet 2018: 34), this emotional investment work as the 'awkward zone of engagement' (Tsing 2005) in which objects are generated. Consequently, I argue that both Daniel and Nina bring together the diverse calls, demands, ideals and struggles that come to matter in their work, particularly in their continued discussions about how to hold 'the borders of Europe' together. Throughout their accounts, both Daniel and Nina were constantly discussing and debating – not merely because they were in an interview situation with me. As I will show, their very accounts were about the constant processing, discussing, adjusting, and wondering about what to make of, and do with, the many claims to Europe.

Everyday conceptualisations of the 'good' border

A range of studies has pointed to the incommensurability of the diverse measures taken by Frontex and other central border and migration-coordinating agencies within the European Union. Certain contradicting demands have been noted in terms of the very idea of having open and closed borders; of a forced European cooperation versus the respect for sovereignty; and the protection of human rights versus the enforcement of borders. As such, the EU border system has been understood in terms of incompatibility and fundamental incongruity, being subsequently described as "absurd" (Andersson 2014), "a spectacle" (De Genova 2013), or "a peculiar co-existence" (Aas and Gundhus 2014). In this chapter, I engage with this very 'absurdity' or 'peculiarity' and, inspired by science and technology studies, I examine the process of how the 'spectacle' of the EU border system manages to go on despite its many inherent contradictions.

In their contribution to the emergent field of valuation studies, which approaches value as a performative process rather than an inherent characteristic of an object, STS scholars Annemarie Mol and Frank Heuts (2013) explore the practice of the good. Basing their analysis on STS studies' modes of ordering (Law 1993) and alignment (Mol 2002), they argue that the practical interaction between multiple registers of value defines what may qualify as "good" in a specific situation (Mol and Heuts 2013: 132). Registers might clash; they might collide or be hierarchized by compromise. However, through the work of attuning different registers of 'good', the practically possible 'good' takes form (ibid.: 138). In that respect, the 'good' is a constant activity rather than a distant judgement, and Mol and Heuts spell out that, *"It is not a matter of taking control and imposing an ideal, but of caringly playing with possibilities"* (ibid.). Bringing this analysis into my investigation of borders and law enforcement, I must stress that I do not intend to argue that border officials 'pick-and-choose' between the many claims, demands, and obligations (or 'registers of good') in a sort of hierarchy or power vacuum. Rather, I am interested in bringing forth the way that border officials are constantly analysing, discussing, and weighing in on how to combine or choose between the many demands and claims to 'the borders of Europe'.

Part I: European Border Guard Team: more than plugging gaps in the line

"I try to be a good example," Daniel said. *"But of course, we're only guests, and they're the hosts, so you shouldn't think that you can walk in and change everything."* Daniel was talking about his deployment as a *guest officer* in joint border operations at the external borders of the EU. As part of the European Border Guard Team (EBGT), a pool of highly specialised and trained police officers, Daniel participates in border operations in other Schengen–EU member states. The teams can be deployed to assist local authorities at the external borders of the European Union in particularly acute times with urgent or exceptional level of pressure; e.g., the land borders between Greece and Turkey, the sea borders near Italian islands such as Sicily or Lampedusa, or at airports facing specific problems or that have a need for training.

When I met Daniel in his office at the Danish National Police's Border Control department in late September 2015, these operations were taking place under the auspices of EBGT. This specific constellation was operational from 2011–2016, and its team members were trained to be deployed to Frontex joint operations and rapid border interventions (Frontex 2011). Guest officers were primarily deployed to assist in first-line assistance (border control), second-line assistance (investigative work), or to provide expertise in a specialised area (e.g., forged documents, fingerprinting, human trafficking). Guest officers were also deployed for data-collection tasks, such as *debriefing* or *screening*, in which their primary function was to gather interview-based information about the nationality and journey of newly arrived migrants. The information they collected was forwarded to Frontex, where the strategic offices at Frontex headquarters would then use it in the analysis of statistics and risk assessment. Experienced police officers were also deployed as team leaders for the EBGT members. The EBGT members always worked in tandem with the local border authorities and always under their juridical authority. Since the late-2000s, the organisation and the name of such joint border operations have changed from time to time. The first operations went under the acronym RABIT (Rapid Border Intervention Team), and were later carried out under the name the European Border Guard Team (EBGT).[42] Since 2016, the official

[42] Since 2007 mechanisms have been in place within the FRONTEX framework for the provision of temporary border guard units of national border guards seconded by member states. These units are tasked with 'rapid border intervention' including technical and operational assistance to local border and coast guard authorities (EUR-Lex, 2007). From 2007 until 2011, the Rapid Border Intervention Teams (RABIT) served this function. In 2011, as part of an effort to strengthen FRONTEX's capacities, the Rapid Border Intervention Teams and other similar functions were unified in the new European

name has been the European Border and Coast Guard (Frontex regulation 2016). Through this restructuring of the organisational frameworks, the division of roles between member states, the coverage of expenses, and the efficiency and mandate of joint operations has also been subject to change. In other words, the reorganisation and renaming of this type of joint operation has been a constant balancing act between the protection of member states' sovereignty and their shared responsibility for protecting the external borders. This balancing act can be seen in the aforementioned Frontex publication, *In Search of Excellence* (2014), in which joint cooperation at a border-crossing point at the Polish–Russian border is described as follows:

> *"Frontex's role here is not merely to plug gaps in the line, because, in truth, there are none; there seems little doubt that* [Polish authorities] *could manage* [the border-crossing point] *very well by themselves – or even better, since one of the acknowledged keys to the efficient screening of migrants is the ability to speak Russian (…) Frontex does, however, add value in other ways. "The opportunity to exchange information and knowledge with guest officer colleagues from other countries is really useful to us," says Lt-Col Grytczuk. "We could not operate efficiently in a vacuum""* (Frontex 2014: 27).

This excerpt indicates how the publication authors went to great lengths to avoid implying that EBGT guest officers are deployed to ensure quality control at the border; there should be no doubt that the local authorities can manage the border themselves. Rather, the Polish–Russian border is 'added value' when it is 'plugged in' as a part of Europe. In that sense, the work of the guest officers could be conceptualised as that which plugs national borders into the European Union, or that which renders the borders European. In the following, I discuss how, by aligning conflicting interests, demands, and registers of valuation during his deployment with EBGT joint operations, Daniel also plugged together a very specific version of 'the borders of Europe'.

Border Guard Teams (EBGT) (EUR-Lex, 2011). Since the reorganisation and strengthening of FRONTEX in 2016, the teams have been referred to as European Border and Coast Guard Teams (EUR-Lex, 2016).

Being 'the good example': negotiating 'best practice' through differences

Daniel is a Danish police officer who has been employed at the Border Control Unit at the Danish National Police for the past five years. As part of his job, he has been deployed to a number of countries in a variety of roles since his first journey in 2010. When he recounted his experiences as a guest officer to me, Daniel brought to my attention the issue of working together across differences.[43] In his account, Daniel described a range of differences involved in the joint operations; in particular, when he travelled to Greece and Italy as a guest officer, he brought with him a view about the difference between being a *host* and being a *guest*: *"We cannot expect to just come here and push our structures on them; we're there to assist!"*, he said, establishing a difference between "pushing our structures" and "assisting". Daniel elaborated:

> *"We're there to support their work, and to perform some specific work but, of course, we're also there as expert assistance. We're not just there to do a simple bit of work,* [such as] *closing a gap; we're there because we're knowledgeable about the subject, and we need to assist in that subject. But again, we need to be aware – normally, I'm* [in my office in Denmark], *so I should be cautious about telling a border guard who works every day of the year how he should do things because you should try to assess the situation before you tell him how much to do, and how to do it. You're a guest in that country, so you shouldn't tell them what to do, but you can suggest and, of course, you can tell them if they're breaking the law."*

In his account, Daniel also evoked the well-established stereotypes of a straightforward Northern European and a relationship-orientated Southern European work ethic, saying:

> *"We often arrive, and then we'll be like, 'Alright, so today we're doing this and that, we'll do it like this, and now let's get to work', and the Italians are more like, 'Come, let's meet, and how are you and dadada, let's have a coffee and then we can begin'. That can be frustrating for us from Northern Europe. It can be very frustrating, but we can also be considered rude if we're not careful and just go, 'Let's get going, what have you got, let's get to work'. So it's both something that you have to be aware of yourself personally, but also something that Frontex tries to prepare us for."*

[43] Recorded Interview, September 2015

Equipped with Frontex training in diplomatically handling differences, Daniel embarked on the EBGT missions with a sharp eye for differences. As the quote above suggests, that sharp eye did two things with regards to how he did his job: it showed humility towards the work already being carried out in the place to which he travelled, and it fostered respect towards assisting and working together with authorities in other European Union member states. In his account, Daniel constantly presented himself as very understanding with regards to "other ways of doing things", and he acknowledged that those "other ways" also make sense in their own context. To his Northern European sensibilities, long coffee breaks in the morning, unclear pathways of information, and personal relationships seemed inefficient, but he acknowledged that *"the Italians work really hard",* and that the professionals who are there all year round have a flair for doing things that he himself did not in his role as primarily a 'desktop' border police expert.

Ethnologists Marie Sandberg and Dorte Andersen have pointed to the peculiar role that differences play within the European Union project (2010). In their study of the cultural politics of the EU in the 1990s and 2000s, they examine the conceptual incommensurability of the EU slogan 'Unity in Diversity'. They argue that the sort of diversity promoted in the EU's cultural programmes encompasses harmless differences that do not seriously destabilise unity. Similarly, in the EBGT and Frontex universe, differences were constantly highlighted as a productive good, or at least as something that cannot or should not be problematized; rather, differences should be respected and worked with, despite the apparent difficulties in politically deciding when to choose national sovereignty over the quality of the collective borders. Translated to Daniel's deployment situation, the question that kept appearing in his account was: How does an insistence on respecting 'differences' apply to being 'the good example' in order to promote 'excellence'? As I explain further in the next section, even if these demands were somehow contradictory, Daniel did what he could to navigate them and, through this navigation, he weaved together a Europe with bits from a national sovereignty and pieces from a common responsibility for external borders, and thus wove together a specific kind of Europe.

Improving structure, efficiency, and decency

For one of Daniel's deployments, he was sent to a Mediterranean island at a time when the local authorities were in the midst of implementing a formal process to conduct screening and debriefing interviews with newly arrived migrants; the goal was to collect data for Frontex about the migrants' origins, routes, and reasons

for flight. Daniel explained: *"It was something that I got involved in; it wasn't actually my direct work, but when they* [migrants] *came to us for screening, we* [officers] *would sit behind a long row of tables. We would be five or six people there, and then 200 people would be brought to us"*. Daniel continued to explain that there was a lack of infrastructure related to the migrants who were waiting to be screened. This meant that groups of migrants would approach the screening desk together, making it difficult to conduct inquisitive questioning or collect one person's information, which was necessary in order to correctly fill out the forms with the screening information. Daniel continued to describe how he had tried to intervene and improve the infrastructure, saying:

> *"So, we had to go and say, 'Okay, stand back', even if it wasn't actually our job, so we did that. 'Everyone who speaks Arabic, line up there, Farsi there, Urdu there' (…) and, after having done that for a few days, some Italians started doing the same. So we have that effect, too, that goes beyond the actual work we do. They learn a little bit from our way of working"*.

Daniel, however, quickly added,

> "*And we can learn from their way of working, too. They're the ones working there every day, all year round. We're only there for a month or two. So, we shouldn't go there and think, 'I have the solution for how this should be done'. They're more experienced, but we can give them input on how to improve"*.

Although Daniel was aware of the local conditions and the differences in their work approaches, he was also determined that the role of guest officer should not merely be understood as 'strictly work' in the sense of pure manpower. Instead, his presence was also about being 'a good example', as he put it. During his deployments, he had a sharp eye for how the work should be organised; he continuously promoted the streamlining of work flows, he tried to ensure that resources were used in the best possible way, and he endeavoured to assure that the data collected was of the best quality.

Another aspect of having a good eye for structure was being aware that time and staff resources should be used efficiently. Because Daniel was deployed as an expert, he had the feeling that sometimes the work was organised in such a way that he should simply sit and wait to be allocated the 'expert cases'. However, because it was mostly untrained translators who performed the initial screening interviews, Daniel would often wait for hours without being given a case. The untrained translators did not have an eye for the 'expert cases', and thus none would be collected and assigned to him. Daniel recounted to me the frustration of

watching the translators working hard while he and the other experts just sat there, waiting to have the special cases handed over. And ultimately, there would be no special cases because the translators did not ask sufficiently critical questions that would then generate such special cases. In order to avoid these situations, Daniel explained, he would go to the first line to help, *"…and with a good example to show which questions you can ask"*. He explained that, just by asking

> *"each person a few additional questions, I would be able to assess whether there was anyone they needed to spend extra time on, or if the person's answers seemed legitimate. Then we could see that the translators started asking the same questions and, as I've said, we're not only there to perform some specific work, we're also there to be good examples of how to work"*.

Daniel then re-organised the division of tasks between *screeners* and *debriefers*, and between initial interviews and in-depth interviews. This led to a better use of time and staff resources (avoiding that the deployed EBGT members would go several hours with nothing to do), but he also ensured a 'spill-over' of his expertise whereby the translators would begin to ask questions in the same way as he did because they were working alongside him.

During our conversation, which took place in his office at the Border Control Unit outside of Copenhagen, however, Daniel did not hesitate to admit that his interpretation of the situation or his suggestions for improvement did not resonate at times. He told me how, in a conversation with a translator, he realised that what he thought would be an improvement actually looked completely different in the eyes of his African colleague:

> *"At one point in Greece, we were talking about – or I was talking about how I thought it was degrading that* [migrants] *would have a number written on their hands when they arrived at the camps; that was a little bit… I thought it seemed wrong that* [the camp staff] *was marking them with a marker. And there was a Norwegian who had a contact where we could get like a festival wristband extremely cheap – it would cost 25 øre apiece* [0,03 EUR], *and then you wouldn't have to give people a number. So, I was explaining this to the translator, and he said that he would be so offended if he were the one arriving and was given a wristband. And so, we talked a little back and forth, and we agreed that we in Europe might have a – you know, the thing about having numbers written on your body, that's something to do with Nazis and stuff like that whereas in Africa, it might be something like chains that's more problematic. So, he said, 'Write anything on me, that doesn't bother me at all'"*.

As this story underlines, it was not merely in conversation with me (a researcher with endless questions about modes of cooperation, about challenges and successes, about task and how they were divided and shared) that Daniel discussed his work: His deployment was a constant conversation with himself and others about how to improve the border, and how to ensure excellence. Taken together, Daniel's account suggests that the sort of 'borders of Europe' that he was trying to hold together relied on bringing together both national sovereignty and the collective, proper infrastructure, and always questioning resource efficiency and decency.

Holding together 'the borders of Europe'

In the blogpost *"Divided Loyalties: Frontex and Police Culture at EU's External Borders"* (2016), criminologists Katja Franko Aas and Helene Gundhus argue that their study of Norwegian border officials deployed to the EU–Schengen external borders show that these officers often find themselves divided between demonstrating loyalty to the host country, and loyalty to the professional standards that Frontex and their home country promote. A misplaced loyalty to local conditions and their host country – combined with the tendency towards a culture of silence within police forces – may make guest officers refrain from reporting code-of-conduct violations that they encounter in a host country. As a consequence, the authors argue, such host–guest situations might lead to less transparency and accountability than intended (ibid.).

Daniel's account described a different outcome to the encounter between guest and host: i.e., a movement of not distancing, and of ongoing conversations and attempts.[44] In discussing his work as a guest officer, Daniel recounted how he constantly strived to be a good example while simultaneously respecting the differences he saw around him. Nevertheless, while speaking with me, he also tended to hesitate: he wanted to share all of the improvements he had developed, but he did not want to seem like a 'know-it-all', either in conversation with me or in relation to his colleagues in the field. As a result, Daniel was careful to use phrasings and words that were open to acknowledging differences in a positive and accepting way. However, at the same time, he was very invested in doing

[44] The accounts Daniel shared with me did not revolve around violations of regulations or fundamental rights and, in that sense, my argument is not intended to counter that of Franko Aas and Gundhus (2016). What I propose in this chapter is instead a different mode of analysis – one that focuses on practices of aligning different registers of good in order to hold together a specific version of 'the borders of Europe' .

things the right way, the efficient way, and he was clearly proud to have been able to make such professional improvements. The specific sort of 'borders of Europe' that Daniel held together consisted of different work cultures that should be respected yet worked with. In other words, when deployed, Daniel tried to ensure the quality of the border by improving the method of properly collecting information, using resources efficiently, and treating migrants decently. He also ensured this quality by pushing some things through (the infrastructure of interviews) and letting others remain as they were ('slow mornings', etc.), or by introducing new methods (showing translators how to critically question migrants) and by re-evaluating his assumptions (someone preferring numbers written on skin to a wristband).

Daniel's stories about his everyday work situations as a deployed border official revolved around a set of conceptualisations regarding differences that are explicitly or implicitly articulated within the official border vocabulary (e.g., host/guest, north/south, best practice/local conditions). However, his stories also show how 'excellence' was achieved alongside such differences. Rather than refraining from engaging, he was constantly trying to hold together an attainable, possible Europe. To recall Mol and Heuts, Daniel's accounts suggests that he was handling different registers of good, so to speak. Daniel had several registers for 'the good': letting the host country and local officials be the organising party; respecting the local border guards; asking the best questions; and organising work processes in the most efficient way. In Daniel's opinion, he performed his work in a satisfactory manner when he managed to simultaneously respect the hosts, be a good guest, improve the structure of the work, and learn from the local surroundings. The account he shared with me focused on how to achieve this balance: They were about paying attention to different ideals, making them work together, and navigating through them. As such, that which counts as 'excellence' and 'best practice' for him is whatever is attainable while still respecting the differences amongst EU member states and guest officers.

At the same time, Daniel was constantly trying to hold a specific type of Europe together; he was deployed to ensure excellence, streamline the EU's borders, and manage a collective. But in every detail, he was confronted with things that 'ran counter' to establishing such a collective: different work methods and ethics; different registers of offensive and non-offensive. He did, however, steadily and consistently try to carry on and make the best of it. In that sense, the different demands did not bring the collaboration process to a halt; rather, it stumbled on, weaving together many threads and bits and pieces, and attempting to hold them up as 'the borders of Europe'. Tsing has noted the two different definitions of the

term 'collaboration' (Tsing 2005: 246), one which emphasises the working together, the other which implies 'working with the enemy'; or working across differences (ibid.). Such kind of collaboration does not necessarily share the same goal, and does not necessarily benefit everyone involved; but it does, however, nonetheless go on. In Tsing's case, in which she studies environmental uprisings in relation to Indonesian rubber plantations, she notes that the collaboration between unlikely partners did in the end succeed *"because no one stopped to realize the depth of their disagreements"* (ibid.: 247). In the case of Daniel, success, or rather "excellence" was a matter of combining diverse interests and registers. The gains and losses of this remained perhaps uncertain both to Daniel and his discussions partners in the field, but the project of holding Europe's borders together could stumble on, nevertheless.

In the next part of the chapter, I continue to show how this work of combining and pulling together the many diverse 'claims to Europe' manifest in training activities. Through the account of Nina, a Danish border official, I describe how Danish police officers struggled to find a purpose for Frontex's requirements regarding Fundamental Rights in their daily work.

PART II: Fundamental Rights as more than "parmesan cheese on top"

In its quest for excellent management of the collective borders, Frontex coordinates a range of training activities for border officials from EU member states. The training activities cover a wide range of topics: from forged documents and automated border control to dog handling and risk-analysis training (cf. Frontex 2015). The infrastructure of such activities relies on a 'train-the-trainer' principle in which experienced border officials from the EU–Schengen states receive training and have to pass examinations in a specific trainer-targeted curriculum of courses led by Frontex. After passing their exams, the officials return to their respective countries and are eligible to train their national colleagues, who also have to participate in courses and pass exams.[45]

Both activists and scholars have strongly criticised Frontex and, in general, the EU border system has been attacked for building a "wall around the west" (Snyder 2000) to such an extent that it challenges – if not outright violates – the paradigm

[45] This sort of training has been conducted under a variety of frameworks (cf. CCC 2007). In 2015, a new curriculum was launched, which was developed with support from experts in all of the EU–Schengen countries as well as international migration-interest organisations (Frontex 2015)

of human rights and the right to asylum (cf. Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013; Follis 2015; Aas & Gundhus 2014). According to the "12 Seconds to Decide" publication that I referred to above, fundamental rights and human rights[46] conventions have recently come to play a larger part in the Frontex framework; e.g., the establishment of a consultative forum, the development of training in fundamental rights, and an elaboration of codes of conduct (Frontex 2014: 105). Under the headline, "Safeguarding Fundamental Rights", the agency's newly hired Fundamental Rights Officer is quoted as saying:

> *"My job is to mainstream fundamental rights and place them as the basis of border activities, not just to add them like parmesan cheese on top."* The text continues: *"In* [the Fundamental Rights Officer's] *view, the agency's initial difficulties in this arena stemmed from the ambiguous language with which the Schengen Borders Code of 2006 was drafted in the first place. "The preamble says that border control "should help to combat 'illegal immigration'. But there is no such thing as 'illegal' immigration. It is not illegal to seek asylum, for instance. And why the defensive language, if asylum seekers are as welcome as we say they are; why must immigration be 'combated'?"* (2014: 105).

This excerpt promotes the argument that safeguarding human rights and performing border control are not mutually exclusive, and that asylum seekers are not illegal but indeed very much welcome. However, several studies have pointed out that it might not be as simple as made in the above quote, e.g. the categories of migration and asylum legislation only allow for very specific sorts of movement, and thereby criminalising others (Andersson 2014; Lemberg-Pedersen 2012). In the following, I discuss how the Danish police officer Nina experienced teaching a course in Fundamental Rights to her fellow police officers, and how she tried to live up to the ideal of being able to align fundamental rights, which protects each individual's right to asylum and border control, which protects a territory from acts of trespassing.

[46] The Frontex Fundamental Rights Teacher's Manual (2013) describes the difference between 'Fundamental Rights' and 'Human Rights' as such: "Traditionally, the term 'fundamental rights' is used in a constitutional context whereas the term 'human rights' is used in international law. The two terms refer to the same content and substance as can be seen by the similarities between the content in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, the ECHR and the UDHR" (Frontex 2013: 28).

"They're laughing in our faces": the difficulty of fitting in Fundamental Rights

Nina is a police officer affiliated with the Border Control Section of the Danish National Police, and her diverse work portfolio includes training Danish police officers in matters related to border management, including Fundamental Rights. I met with Nina at the Border Control Unit's premises, and she told me that, when her boss had said that he needed someone to teach a course in "Human Rights", she had hesitated before accepting the task.[47] She said that the general opinion amongst Danish police officers was that they were already well-trained in the area of rights. Equating human rights to ethics, Nina expressed the opinion that the general feeling amongst the officers was that they had learned about ethics in their basic training at the national Police Academy, and they did not really need to hear more about it. This call for some conceptual clarification: Throughout our discussion, Nina kept using the term "Human Rights" in English, even though the conversation was otherwise in Danish. This way of addressing what Frontex refers to as 'fundamental rights', pointed my attention to the fact that there was something unfulfilled about the way in which the Danish police encountered this course in particular and the regulations in general. As I discuss further in the following, the conflation of 'human rights' and ethics in Nina's narrative points to the sort of analytical translation work that she needed to perform in order to combine the protection of fundamental rights with border-control activities.

Although Nina agreed that her colleagues in the Danish police did know about fundamental rights, she was also open to trying to describe the situations in which the officers needed to be more aware of how they act. She explained,

> *"For instance, if you're sitting in a passport-control booth and take people with another colour aside all the time because you have the feeling that something's wrong with their passport, then you're making a discriminatory* [action]. *(…) And you might have* some [statistics] *that say that everyone travelling from Nigeria has forged documents – well, how do I stop and make sure that it doesn't look bad? Because – I cannot stop 10 random Danish people just to avoid it from looking bad… because… then you also violate the rule that says that you can only stop so many… So, you have to kind of try to make it look natural, right?"*

In this statement, the demand for non-discrimination is understood in terms of 'looking natural' or 'looking bad', and Nina described the everyday dilemma of

[47] Recorded interview, November 2015, Border Control Unit, Danish Police

the passport control booth: on the one hand, an officer risks violating Fundamental Rights articles on non-discrimination (e.g., to not distinguish on the basis of ethnicity and gender) when taking aside specific travellers.[48] On the other hand, controlling the borders using profiling techniques (i.e., techniques based on statistics that illustrate current trends within illegal traveling) is taught as the state-of-the-art method in police work. In addition to the imperative to avoid discrimination, the police officers also struggled with assuring a traveller's right to information and the right to claim asylum. According to "The Fundamental Rights Trainers' Manual" (Frontex 2013), border guards are obligated to ensure that any person met at the border is adequately informed about the procedures, consequences, and their rights in a language that they understand (Frontex 2013: 81). However, Nina explained that, particularly during *"the current situation"* (e.g., the increased arrival of migrants in 2015), it could easily prove difficult to meet the demand to ensure that all of the charters' or conventions' guidelines were fulfilled. Nina said:

> *"I think it can be extremely frustrating to try to remember 'Human Rights' when you have 10 people from Iraq who just do not want to seek asylum in Denmark. I mean, you're trying to help them, and you're saying, 'Listen, I cannot let you travel to Sweden, but you can do this and this', and then all they say is, 'I'd rather kill myself', and then you tell them, 'Listen, you've come to a safe country'. That makes me tired because you try to live up to the rules, and they're just laughing in your face".*

Nina's translation of "I'd rather kill myself" into "they're laughing in your face" might seem quite spectacular; however, from her point of view, the equivalence makes sense in as much as the migrants are violating the Schengen countries' Dublin Agreements by wanting to move to a *specific* country (and not just simply any 'safe country'). Thus, to Nina, it appears as though they are laughing in her and her colleagues' faces because their actions renders obsolete the procedures, protocols, and rights-based solutions that the police officers are trained to apply.

In the interview, Nina explained away this particular tension by referring to the "current conditions" of increased influx of migrants and refugees, and increased pressure on southern European borders. However, several scholars have taken the

[48] Frontex Fundamental Rights Teacher's Manual, p. 79: *"Article 21: Non-discrimination 1. Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, 'race', colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited. 2. Within* the *scope of application of the Treaty establishing the European Community and of the Treaty on European Union, and without prejudice to the special provisions of those Treaties, any discrimination on grounds of nationality shall be prohibited."*

point even further, arguing that it is not just 'the current situation' or an increase in the number of arrivals that makes it difficult to align the demand for a border that is humanitarian yet exclusionary. Rather, studies point to the inherent incommensurability between the EU system's praise of human rights on the one hand, and a structure of exclusion on the other (e.g., Dzenovska 2018; Follis 2012; Pallister-Wilkins 2015). Even though Frontex's Fundamental Rights Officer (who I quoted in the publication excerpt above) stated that the European Union clearly welcomes asylum seekers, the reality is that potential asylum seekers are often caught in a system that will only allow them to become asylum seekers in the first EU member state country to which they arrive (cf. the Dublin II and III Agreements).

For Nina and her colleagues, this meant that they constantly encountered people who did not wish to seek asylum in Denmark, or who they felt were 'lying to their faces' even when the police officers tried to help them. In Nina's account, the experience of being 'lied to' led to a suspicion of the regulations ensuring fundamental rights, such as the right to asylum and the right to information; these were seen as something that impeded officers from properly separating those travellers who had a right to enter the country, and those who did not (cf. Dzenovska 2018: 177). Speaking from a perspective in which asylum seekers are considered to be opportunistic and a potential economic burden, Nina continued to convey what she thought was a typical position on "Human Rights" issues amongst her colleagues. She said:

> *"So, sometimes you have to tell yourself that it's just a job and, of course, our opinions are coloured by the fact that we see the migrants from another side than what people see on TV. We don't really understand this person who has travelled all the way through Europe, and then doesn't say, 'I want to stay here' (…). So, if a police officer says, 'I don't want to tell a migrant that they can seek asylum here – why would I? They should know'. But I mean, we have to say that it's their right, and it's our job to – I mean, it's not our job to decide how this affects our country – that's a task for the politicians. We just have to hold up the rights that they have, and that's our job, right?"*

Even when equipped with the Fundamental Rights charter and a training certificate in the Fundamental Rights course, it can prove difficult for a police officer to apply the Frontex principles in the practical work when faced with situations like Nina described. Her account shows how fundamental rights are

positioned as something that impedes the officers from being able to properly distinguish between deserving and un-deserving asylum claims.

Eventually, however, it seems as though "Human Rights" serve a purpose in the officers' daily work, albeit perhaps far from what the Frontex Fundamental Rights Officer was expecting. Nina said: "*And that's what 'Human Rights' are good for; you can say* [to yourself], *'Listen, don't take it home with you after work... if they disappear to Sweden, that's not our problem… however, because we're trained so well, we take pride in closing the cases. But right now, it's just not like that, so you just have to say, 'I'm going home'".*

Finding a purpose for Fundamental Rights training courses

In the beginning of this chapter, I referred to Mol and Heuts (2013) to establish an understanding of the "good' as something obtained through care and attentiveness. The 'good' is what is strived for while also being what is practically possible. Mol and Heuts suggest the word "care" to grasp the ongoing work that constantly seeks improvement but which does not necessarily succeed. They argue that care *"implies that the object of improvement should not be overpowered, but respected. Respect does not depend on leaving things and situations as they are"* (ibid.: 141). However, Nina's account from the everyday attempts to align efficiency and human rights, the officers leave work instead due to an overabundance of respect: a satisfactory goal cannot be achieved, so Nina and her colleagues will just 'go home' and try to forget about all the inconsistencies with which they had to struggle throughout their duty shift.

In Nina's account, she tried to find a way to fit "Human Rights" into the border work (as a sort of Frontex-produced package with all its articles, obligations, and dilemma-free situations). In the conversation with me, "Human Rights" was dealt with in three different ways: first, as irrelevant; then, as ridiculous; and finally, as an excuse. According to her, the police officers' first reaction to courses in fundamental rights was usually an attitude of "We know all about ethics, and we comply with Human Rights". In addition to the assumption that they "already know it", part of the officers' reluctance towards acknowledging the relevance of a course in fundamental rights was because of their everyday experiences. Here, the police officers know that "Human Rights" – or rather, the right to information and non-discrimination – can end up making them look like fools: they know when a person is lying to them or even "laughing in your face", but they cannot do anything about it because they have to comply with the regulations. The official imperative to place fundamental rights "at the basis of border activities" (Frontex

2014: 105) can thus be considered ridiculous. I do not intend to argue that the Danish police operate against the principle of fundamental rights, or that they violate any of the conventions with which they should comply. It is beyond my capacity to make any such judgments based on the field research I conducted; more importantly, it is not the point that I am trying to make here. Rather, I argue that the regulations regarding Fundamental Rights were translated and adopted in a very particular manner: "Human Rights" (perpetually in English, capitalised, and in quotation marks) became useful in a very mundane sense: i.e., as a way to relieve the officers from the pressure of working in a flawed system, and as an excuse to let go: *"I'm going home"*.

Shaking up attitudes: Fundamental rights as a continuous discussion

Even if Nina could narrate a story about how "Human Rights" was ridiculed and considered to be something that could mostly be used as an excuse to let things go and go home, Nina did eventually accept her boss' offer to teach the Fundamental Rights course. In order to qualify as trainer of the course, she had to attend training and pass exams under the auspices of Frontex. The course gathered border guards and police officers from the Schengen member countries, and was carried out in what Nina said they referred to as "EU English", a composite of accents and attempts to translate and transfer national contexts into the discussion with EU-member state colleagues. During the courses, the participants shared their experiences and perspectives; nurturing the differences between their professions (some were border guards, others were police officers), the specificities of the location of the border they worked with (airport, seaport, southern and northern Europe), and the specific challenges regarding trespassing and adhering to fundamental rights, which they encountered in their work. Returned home after the participation in the course, Nina told me that she always tried to organise her own classes in a way that would give the participants a renewed understanding of how having an awareness of fundamental rights could play a central role in their daily work. She told me that she always tried to make the classes an open discussion rather than a one-way lecture about the conventions and their articles, and that she also tried to relate the issue of fundamental rights to the everyday situations in which the border police might find themselves. Although her colleagues did not initially show much interest in fundamental rights issues, Nina had a feeling that teaching the course as a discussion about recurring work dilemmas was something that actually managed to capture the course participants' interest.

However, at the same time, the discussions that Nina tried to prompt in her classroom did not suddenly make the border procedures non-discriminatory; rather, they aimed to keep the officers alert and aware of the fact that they were facing a person (and not a category) at the passport-control booth, and that they should remember this at all times. While Nina thought that the officers did indeed know about "Human Rights", she also acknowledged that negative attitudes "*accumulate over years of working, and then you need to shake it up and get new tools*".

In other words, Nina managed to put Fundamental Rights to use – however, not as a standard to be applied but as a conversation to be had continuously. Interestingly, while "Human Rights", indirectly put inside quotation marks by saying the words in English, seemed unattainable and impossible to fulfil as an ideal, the police officers agreed that they might be able to be more polite towards travellers, even at the end of a long working day. Nina described how, ultimately, she managed to make the border police engage in a discussion about the difficulties and potential pitfalls of violations to fundamental rights at the border. As such, she combined traits from the 'humanitarian border' with traits from the 'exclusionary border', and turned this into a conversation that could 'shake up' the worn-down officers and accumulating negative attitudes towards migrants.

Conclusion: A note on border officials and agency

In this chapter, I have discussed two border officials' everyday conceptualisations of their work as an object of study with regards to how they combine and coordinate divergent interests, and thereby achieve some sort of doable version of 'excellence'. Through these accounts, I have shown how my interlocutors pointed out tensions between respecting differences and the quest for excellence, and between receiving training about an ideal and finding a purpose for such an ideal in work situations. Their accounts pointed out the problems of trying to align contradicting demands with regards to holding together the borders of Europe. By taking the border officials' everyday conceptualisations as a point of departure in this chapter, I have also implicitly engaged in a discussion about the "banality of exclusion" (Follis 2012) or the trivialisation of exclusion, and about what could more broadly be referred to as a discussion about the role of border officials and their actions. In the closing section of her book, *Building Fortress Europe* (2012), anthropologist Karolina S. Follis draws attention to the moral and political responsibilities that arise from the conflicting imperatives of re-bordering processes with regards to migration and border policy (ibid.: 208). For years, an

imperative for open borders was naturalised to such an extent that this "banality of exclusion" emerged from which *"officials, border guards, experts, and regular citizens* [were] *expressing an uncritical acceptance of the premises of the border regime"* (ibid.). Follis argues that, through measures such as the externalisation of border control and technicalisation of border management, the measures of exclusion become trivialised to such a degree that moral and political responsibilities might be lost (ibid.). Follis warns against this, and urges migration studies to de-trivialise such measures in order to keep the moral and political implications pertinent and visible.

The argument about the dehumanisation and indifference practices of border officials has a long tradition, not strictly within the field of migration and border studies but more broadly in the study of state officials, as sociologists Lisa Marie Borelli and Annika Lindberg (2018) describe in their study of creative coping strategies amongst border officials in the European migration-management industry. Reviewing the vast literature on street-level bureaucrats and their discretion practices, Borelli and Lindberg discuss how strategies of dehumanising, cherry-picking, or simplifying have long been understood as central to bureaucratic practices within scholarly work (ibid.). Based on their own study, however, the authors argue that border officials often deviate from regulations by inserting 'self' into the bureaucracy in such a way that they align the actions they perform with their own values – even if their 'self' violates or deviates from standard procedures. Sometimes, these self-driven discretions favour the person subjected to law enforcement; at other times, they do not. In either case, the 'self' is the driving force for the border official as well as an alignment of personal convictions with performed actions. In this regard, Borelli and Lindberg argue that border officials take an active role in shaping the "morality of migration management" (ibid.: 164). Anthropologist Dace Dzenovska also points to a sort of self in the discretion practices of border officials in her study of Latvian border officials (2014). However, she discusses how this kind of self is deeply rooted in a historical and social context, and she shows how border officials' ability to recognise the person subjected to control as a fellow citizen (or not) depends on multiple sets of social and historical hierarchies in which the border guards are embedded (2018: 203).

In this chapter, I have attempted to join the focus of these studies with the agency of border officials; however, rather than approaching the discussion in terms of agency *within* a broader European border regime, the accounts I have presented have been concerned with the sorts of 'borders of Europe' that arise in the practical alignment needed to work through the many demands and claims to Europe. With

this approach, it is less a question of whether or not border officials live up to the best practices that Frontex outlines, or how their local practices may deviate from standards, regulations, and best practices. Instead, it is a matter of how the different demands and requests – all of which claim to be at the heart of 'the borders of Europe' – are brought to the table at once. And, rather than picking and choosing amongst them, the officials weave them together by constantly wondering about how best to combine them.

At the beginning of the chapter, I suggested the term "awkward zones of engagement" (Tsing 2005, Brichet 2018) to describe the interviews that I selected for this chapter, and I want to briefly revisit the notion of staying with these awkward moments. In Brichet's study such awkward engagements in the making of a common commemoration project in a former Danish plantation in Ghana, she urges both academic and everyday analysers to find the courage to pursue 'postcolonial moments' (Brichet 2018: 213-215). Building on the work of science and technology scholar Helen Verran, Brichet writes, "*A postcolonial moment provides an analytical opportunity for reconfiguring particular fields and interrupting existing orthodoxies in open-ended ways. More generally, it is a matter of realising that differences are not already given as properties of distinct entities or parties, but are something that we constantly make in agreeing to speak"* (ibid.: 214). I bring this into the present conversation, not to argue that Daniel or Nina's accounts make up *postcolonial moments* in a way that promises to overturn existing power hierarchies; they do not – howver, to point out that they do make up *some* kind of moment: moments of conversation and discussion and, as such, moments of reflection. In that sense (and to echo Follis), Nina and Daniel's accounts showed the bordering as Europe as moments in which the moral and political responsibilities of the exclusionary practices of the European Union's border and migration policies were in fact attended to. Through an awareness of differences in scope and goals (Daniel), through an acknowledgement of the problematic (Nina) as well as through the engagement in an ongoing conversation about how to border Europe.

Chapter 6: "Never enough resources": in search of the sealable border

"Copenhagen Airport is currently an open door for illegal migrants to the Nordic countries. This has been revealed to the magazine DANSK POLITI by frustrated police employees." (Dansk Politi 2013a)

This intriguing statement could be read in an article published in the independent monthly magazine *Dansk Politi (*'Danish Police') in March 2013.[49] The article was the first in a series of articles in a public dispute between police employees and their superiors at Copenhagen Airport, Kastrup, which concerned the level of quality of border control at the airport. In this dispute, the employees working at the airport claimed that they had been told to 'turn a blind eye' to flight arrivals that they knew were likely to be carrying travellers with forged documents. These "frustrated" police officers claimed that they had been told to do so because there were not enough resources to cope with the number of cases and procedures that would accumulate if all illegal travel was seized (ibid.). Based on my fieldwork amongst police officers working at Copenhagen Airport and my observations during training courses for both police officers and non-police-trained border-control staff, this chapter takes an omnipresent cry for 'more resources' as an entry point for exploring the expectations of borders' capacity to seal off illegal travel. In other words, I use the dissatisfaction with the current conditions for policing the border to discuss how the border is configured as a problem of a specific kind and size which carries with it a range of expectations about how border control should work ideally.

The chapter's analyses fall in three main parts which all revolve around the dissatisfaction with current state of affairs and the use of resources. In the first, I elaborate on the above dispute and show how the police management tried to explain away the police officers' criticism of the level of control by pointing to the Schengen regulations on the policing of internal borders. In the second part, I explore the allocation of additional resources, which was initiated by assigning non-police staff to the passport control booths. By drawing on my observations at

[49] The independent journal *Dansk Politi* is written by police for police, and it has a small editorial office made up of two or three employees. The journal often offers very critical perspectives on various topics, typically told from the point of view of the 'man on the ground'.

training sessions, I examine how the allocation of resources did not simply 'fill a hole', but rather changed the border into a different kind of border. In the third part, I turn to claims about wasted resources as they played out in two particular instances: first between police officers and an NGO representative at a training session for police officers, and secondly, in the use of man hours at the Danish-German border in the wake of a reintroduction of border control. Taken together, these three framings of the use of resources in relation to border control provide insight into the ways in which the border was conceptualized as a problem of a specific kind and scope. Before turning to these analyses, I will briefly sketch out the conditions of the police and border work in the airport, and thereafter elaborate on the analytical framework of the chapter.

The airport between law enforcement and business

Copenhagen Airport is the largest airport in Scandinavia with more than 20 million travellers coming through each year; a number that has increased dramatically within the past decades (CPH airport 2018). In addition to conducting border and immigration control checks, the police stationed at the airport deal with what they call 'normal' police tasks, which refer to the speed-issuing of passports, investigating theft, and responding to assaults as well as accidents that occur in the airport. During the summer months, the police at the airport also manage the border control of cruise-liners arriving at Copenhagen Harbour. The police unit is spread across a huge area of the airport, which among other things, includes a management section, citizen's enquiry desk section, an office for advanced documentation screening, a temporary detention centre, and a section for border control, which is located next to the passport booths that divide the area into Schengen and non-Schengen flights (i.e., flights to destinations within or beyond the Schengen area).

Through my fieldwork visits to the airport in 2015 and 2016, I came to experience how the daily police work at the airport required a constant alignment of different considerations. Notably, the airport was not only a site for border control but also for business. Like most international airports, Copenhagen Airport is a limited public company owned by stockholders,[50] and focused on providing their

[50] Copenhagen Airport, officially Copenhagen Airport, Kastrup. Owned and run by Copenhagen Airports A/S, a public limited company, which is owned primarily by the holding company Copenhagen Airports Denmark ApS (owned and controlled by two large pension funds, one Canadian and one Danish) and secondarily by the Danish state as well as minor stockholders (Copenhagen Airport n.d.)

customers with easy and efficient travel; therefore, it is in their best interest to ensure smooth, fast, and service-minded passage through the border controls. The police superior who showed me around the premises on my first visit, described how these multiple interests could sometimes produce a dilemma for the police officers working at the airport. He explained that the average passenger spends around 300DDK when they pass through the airport, which makes the airport-management company keen to prevent passengers from using their time at the airport standing in passport control queues, and so from the point of view of the airport-management company, passengers should be able to spend most of their time in shops and restaurants. The issue of time was continuously addressed in the organisation of the border control; every morning, the management of the airport company meets with the separate management of the police, customs, and the security companies to discuss the previous day's level of efficiency with regards to waiting times and the number of passengers handled.[51]

In addition to being subjected to profit-based interests, the airport police unit was also a state workplace, and this also defined the conditions for the work which could be carried out. The superior who showed me around explained that current winds of government did not like police officers sitting around *waiting* for incidents to occur; therefore, every minute of a shift was filled with tasks. The comment was indicative of how the border was constructed as a specific problem with specific solutions, and that the police were supposed to be proactive and not reactive. However, it was also a widespread anecdotal fact, among the officers I encountered, that the airport used to be the workplace for worn-out or injured police officers. The job of checking passports was often described as not professionally rewarding, and a job in which one could easily become worn out by the repetitive work. However, more recently, the nature of police work at the airport had significantly changed, becoming highly specialised work that required constantly updated technical knowledge about false documentation and human-trafficking routes and strategies, cooperation and knowledge exchange with international colleagues, and training in border-control regulations, document fraud, and human rights. Despite the rapid expansion of the airport and the increased complexity of these tasks, the number of personnel had been reduced on a number of occasions, leaving the duty shift filled with holes on a daily basis, as claimed in an article in Dansk Politi (2014a).

However, the job that needed to be carried out was complicated not merely because of time constraints and multiple stakeholders, but also because of the fact

[51] Participant observation and discussion, February 2016.

that in terms of legislation and regulations, the airport was an area of both border and non-border. As the head of the Border Control Section at the Danish National Police told me in an interview, the airport is a place where the police constantly have to watch their step regarding which regulations they apply.[52] When the police navigate between passengers arriving on Schengen and non-Schengen flights, they are effectively policing both the internal and external borders of the Schengen area.

The distinction between internal and external borders is a corner-stone in the Schengen-cooperation (see also chapter 1; chapter 3), and they both come with their designated regulations, guidelines, procedures, and vocabularies. The external borders are sites for border control because they are entry points into the Schengen Area. European Union passport holders (*and* their family members) will have to show their passports when entering and leaving the Schengen Area, but such persons are not checked in databases unless there is a specific suspicion towards them.[53] So-called third country nationals,[54] are subject to control at entry and exit, which in the case of the airport, means that their passports will be checked for information in the Schengen Information System, which can hold information regarding visas, previous entries and exits, residence permits, international arrest warrants, etc. (Regulation (EU) 2016/399). Internal borders (i.e. flight arrivals from other Schengen-member countries) are managed completely differently, as they are not sites of border control. Internal flights have the same status as internal land borders (i.e. between Denmark and Sweden, Germany and France, etc., prior to 2016); which means that only spot-check border checks of select passengers based on specific, intelligence-based suspicion can be carried out. In other words, EU citizens enjoy the right to free movement and therefore cannot be subject to control at an internal border, and third country nationals met at the internal borders cannot be subjected to border control, because they have (ideally) been subject to such control at their entry into the Schengen Area. When met at an internal border in Denmark, they can then only be subjected to checks on the basis of specific, intelligence-based suspicion. These are the regulations described in their simplest form; in practice matters were more complicated: third country nationals, visa holders, and residence permit holders can enjoy very different types of rights to

[52] Note-registered interview; September 2017, National Aliens Centre, Danish Police

[53] In the wake of increased refugee arrivals as well as terrorist attacks, systematic entry and exit database checks of EU passport holders and their family members were however introduced in 2017 (European Union Council , March 2017).

[54] More specifically: *"'Third country national' refers to any person who is not a person enjoying the Community right of free movement"* (Practical Handbook for Border Guards 2006: 10). Note however that the 'right to free movement' does not simply refer to specific nationalities but is defined by the travel documents of the person in question (whether she or he holds a valid EU visa or residence permit, has a family member who is a citizen of an EU member state, etc.)

free movement depending on their type of visa, which can be divided into purpose (work, holiday, study) and duration (single entry or multiple entry visas). Specific bilateral agreements or country-specific entry bans can also affect the right of free movement of third country nationals. In the words of an officer with whom I spoke this constant navigation between national immigration legislation, EU legislation, and Schengen regulations as a challenge; and even if one consulted experts and lawyers, there was not always a clear answer as to which regulation would supersede another and, in times of pressure, particularly difficult cases could sometimes be left unattended.[55]

The frustrated police officers referred to in the opening excerpt from *Danish Police* thus worked in a police unit tasked with handling very high numbers of travellers, complex procedures including both internal and external borders as well as commercial interests, and a constant reorganisation and professionalization of the work being carried out. In the midst of this, the police officers had sounded an alarm and revealed that they did not have sufficient resources to properly fulfil their tasks.

The fantasy of the border: expectations, cynicism and acting 'as if'.

Throughout my fieldwork I would encounter discussions about the lack of resources, and these struck me as interesting in particularly two ways. First, they pointed to the fact that the police were not themselves satisfied with the quality of border control they could deliver. Secondly, their criticism and dissatisfaction always seemed to hold the potential that their tasks could actually be fulfilled, if more resources were allotted. These two points led me on to exploring more thoroughly the expectations of what could be achieved inherent in discussions and critiques of the current state of affairs.

In a study of bureaucratic irregularities in the registration of asylum seekers on the Greek island of Lesbos, anthropologist Katerina Rozakou examines the fantasy of an ideal bureaucracy in which the state is in absolute control (2018). Rozakou shows that, in the case of Lesbos, irregularity in bureaucratic practices was becoming far more prevalent than regular bureaucratic practices; however, all of the agents involved remained loyal to the fantasy of an ideal-type bureaucracy, by for instance, continuing to register asylum seekers, even if the registration process was full of mistakes and irregularities. Rozakou shows that the border officials had

[55] Participant observation and informal discussions; February 2016.

been instructed to continue the registration practices in spite of the many irregularities; as a way to enable refugees and asylum seekers to precede their movement through Europe, and avoiding that they be stuck on the island (ibid.: 37). Even as border guards and border police were involved in these irregular registration practices, the fantasy of regularity was persistent amongst them, Rozakou argues, and as the state officials seemed to prefer the facilitation of movement of refugees through the country rather than the facilitation of regular bureaucracy, the border officials felt abandoned by the state (ibid. 42).

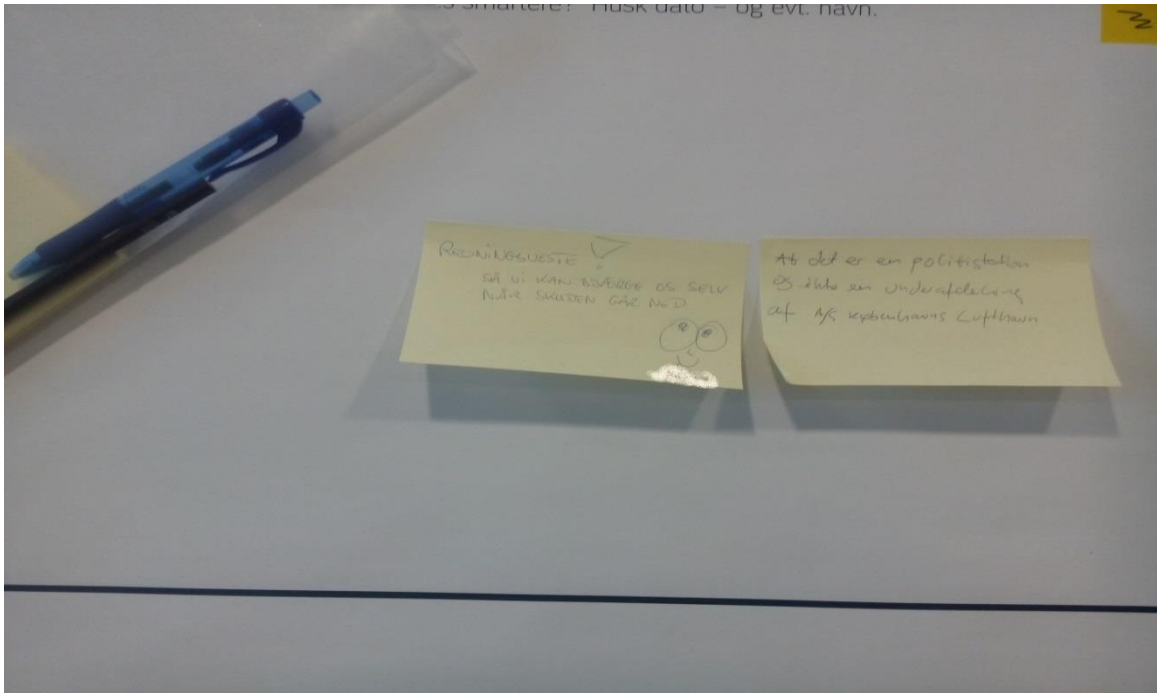
The notion of state as fantasy has been explored in depth by anthropologist Yael Navaro-Yashin, in a study of the interplay between cynicism and statecraft (2002). In her book *Faces of the State* Navaro-Yashin proposes to study the state as a fantasy in order to grasp 1990s Turkey, in which the state endures despite the fact that everyone seems to know that it is corrupt. However, even if the cynical Turkish state subjects were authors of sharp criticism towards the state, they also continuously reproduced the state; and therefore, Navaro-Yashin's analytical quest is to understand why states endure in spite of widespread deconstruction. Building on the tradition of studies that approach the state as an imagined community (Anderson 1984) or fetish (Taussig 1997), Navaro-Yashin argues that the notion of 'fantasy' as it is applied by philosopher Slovoj Žižek is better able to explain the surprising endurance of a corrupt state such as Turkey (ibid.: 159). Even if discourse analysis, or de-constructivist analyses in general, indicates how states are historically contingent constructs, it does not manage to explain why such constructs endure constant de-construction from state subjects, Navaro-Yashin claims. Žižek's critique of the de-constructivist approach is grasped in his reworking of the classic Marxist phrase, *"They do not know it, but they are doing it"*, which he - in order to avoid portraying state subjects as caught in a web of false consciousness - reworks the phrase into: *"They know very well what they are doing, but still, they are doing it"* (2002: 159, in Navaro-Yashin).

In Navaro-Yashin's words, *"the critical capacities (…) are not only the prerogative of trained intellectuals"* (2002: 4), rather it is an everyday practice of state citizens. In this everyday domain of criticism and deconstruction, the "fantasy for the state" enters as something that survives deconstruction, analysis, and critique (ibid.: 4). In a psychoanalytical reading, fantasy is a symptom that persists in spite of interpretation because the subject recognises itself through the symptom; without the symptom, the subject would no longer know (or be) itself. In a psychoanalytical sense, the symptom and its 'fantasy' are closely related to the notion of *the real*. The real is that which the subject is always searching to fulfil its desire for. This striving

for the 'real' takes the subject on a quest to fulfil the desire, but the desire can never be fulfilled; just as the object of desire is approached or even achieved, the object of desire changes. In this universe, the notion of 'the real' designates a universal and eternal yearning to transgress the symptom and become whole; a yearning which can never be satisfied. With regards to the state, Navaro-Yashin argues that state subjects' longing for a protective state makes them sustain the state as it is, rather than overturning it and risking the unknown, and this fear of overturning materialises in the form of cynicism, irony, and lack of trust in the state. Nevertheless, state subjects continue *as if* the state will deliver justice, *as if* it were tangible, *as if* it were a whole entity, even though they are well aware that it is not. According to Navaro-Yashin, Žižek says that the subjects thereby end up (consciously yet irrationally) believing in the ideology. He says, *"Act as if you already believe and the belief will come by itself"* (ibid.: 163); however, Navaro-Yashin claims that, in his universalist study of 'we', Žižek forgets that there are different ways to respond to the 'knowing' and multiple ways of 'doing'. Knowing does not necessarily equal believing – not for everyone, at least; and she therefore proposes to situate the study of the fantasy for the state in order to understand how 'doing', 'knowing' and 'believing' plays out (ibid.: 162-163).

Although much of what Navaro-Yashin understands to be at stake in the public spheres of Turkey during the 1990s is different from what I encountered among Danish police officers in the 2010s, I find the endurance in spite of criticism framework useful in trying to grasp the ways in which the Schengen system was critiqued, deconstructed, yet sustained among Danish police that I encountered during my fieldwork. In the following, I will therefore study the simultaneity of criticism of the border control and the belief in the possibility of sealing off the border. As I suggest, my fieldwork indicate that there was more at stake amongst Danish police at the airport than merely cynicism. Indeed, officers criticised the level of control at the border; however, they *also* seemed to reproduce the fantasy of being able to seal off the border, so when this did not happen, they became frustrated. In the following, I trace different types of criticism and cynicism, and use these as points of departure for examining the different guises of the fantasy of a sealable border. I start by returning to the feud from the articles in Dansk Politi.

New staff waiting for the arrival of the 600+ passenger flights from Dubai, February 2016.



Post-its with cynical or ironic comments on a project board, which ask officers to give suggestions to improve the organisation of the unit: "Life vests, so we can save ourselves when the ship sinks" and "That this was a police station and not a subunit under the Copenhagen Airport company". Lunch room, Danish police, Copenhagen Airport, February 2016.

Not enough resources: a growing sense of distrust

In a series of articles printed in *Dansk Politi* (2013ab, 2014ab, 2015ab) in which both anonymous employees and named employee representatives voiced their criticism, a range of claims was made: First, the police employees asserted that there was not sufficient time or resources to carry out the investigative work of border control. Secondly, some also claimed that they were specifically being told to turn a blind eye to illegal migration in order to avoid the resource-demanding processing of asylum cases. Thirdly, the articles reported criticism of the low number of 'immigration controls' conducted on flights from other Schengen member countries as well as criticism of the selection of controlled arrivals. Furthermore, reductions in personnel and the lack of specialised training were pointed to as reasons for poor quality border control. Finally, some claimed that the top management of the Danish National Police was trying to hide the poor conditions from the public, and some employees lamented the fact that the low level of control at Copenhagen Airport was pushing the problem onto neighbouring countries, such as Sweden and Norway (ibid.).

The claims in the articles addressed control at the external borders in the airport as well as the border control of flights from other Schengen member countries, and the criticism involved questions of decency and fairness, about professionalism and the level of adherence to regulations, and about the unsustainable conditions under which the police officers believed they were working. In other words, there was a growing distrust in both the current system and in the management's handling of the system's insufficiencies. The problem that the frustrated police officers who were raising this criticism experienced was that too many people could illegally cross the border. The management, however, did not acknowledge the criticism, and under the headline *'Unfair article in 'Dansk Politi'"* (Dansk Politi 2013b), they fought back, brushing aside their criticism by pointing to technicalities:

> *"Copenhagen Police adheres to the current regulations. And we are not allowed to routinely check passengers arriving from other Schengen countries. It is as simple as that. We are allowed to perform* [immigration control] *based on a concrete suspicion that a passenger on board is carrying out an illegal activity – document fraud, human trafficking, or other things"* (ibid.).

As this statement indicates, the management insisted that the police officers were misinterpreting the situation and the purpose of the border. The management

emphasised how controlling all incoming flights from other Schengen member countries would not be in compliance with Schengen regulations on free mobility. In the name of free mobility, the national borderlines within the Schengen area are not subject to border control; rather, control has been assigned to immigration controls that can be enforced anywhere (except the borderline). At the borderline, only a small number of random spot-checks were allowed.[56] This suggests that, even if the police know from experience that a certain flight route is likely to carry people travelling illegally, they are not allowed to consistently perform immigration control for that particular flight if such control would exceed the number of allowed random spot-checks as outlined by the Schengen regulations. If they do, they would violate the Schengen regulations. By clarifying this, the management seemed to argue that what the police officers considered to be a lack of resources was actually free mobility. In that sense, the management seemed to hide behind the confusion latent in the presence of both internal and external borders within the same police unit. They simply pointed to the system and the legislation as the reason for the way things were. That meant that many of the people who the police claimed they did not have resources to detain could simply not be detained within the limits of the Schengen regulations; if they were traveling on flights from other countries within the Schengen area, they could not be subject to 'border control' since such actions were specifically relocated to the external borders of the Schengen area.[57]

Although the management were making sure to explain that the current system did not allow for border control at the internal borders of the Schengen area, their insistence on the continuation of the current system also relied on its own fantasy of the border; namely, an understanding of the external borders (on which the entire EU-Schengen border cooperation depended) as sealable and reliable (Walters 2006: 152). As an explanation, or excuse, for not being able to ensure that all passengers arriving on flights from other Schengen-member countries had sufficient papers and residence permits, the management pointed to the authority

[56] During the period of my fieldwork, a central EU-ruling which was much referred to, was the May 2015 ruling which expanded the national authorities' right to perform spot-check-based controls at their internal borders. The ruling came on the request of the Netherlands and Denmark, adopted to Danish legislation as regulation 640, 12/05/2015

[57] This was a dispute that also garnered attention in national newspapers and political discussions, and led to increased political focus on the level of control at the external Schengen borders in Denmark. For instance the opposition parties demanded that the minister of Justice clarify the level of control in the airport in a committee consultation (Danish: samråd), 28 November 2013. During this meeting, the dynamics which I have presented above plays out between the minister who repeatedly maintains that there cannot be border control on internal borders, and an opposition MP, who incessantly repeats the point that persons without proper permits are known to entering the country (www.folketinget.dk 2013)

of the external borders and relied on authorities elsewhere to seal of the 'real' border. In doing so, the management, however, neglected the complexity of the police officers' criticism, which also addressed the problems of letting people without proper papers and permits travel through to the other Nordic countries, and the deep mistrust in a system in which they were not allowed to perform border control on flights, even if they knew people without papers and permits were travelling that this caused. In that regard, the response of the managers left the police officers' abandoned by the management, who should be the ones ensuring the regularity and quality of border control, in a similar way as Rozakou described among Greek officers at the border of Lesbos (Rozakou 2018: 42). As I will show, it seemed that the police officers did not buy into the management's attempt to explain the perceived lack of resources through a disentanglement of the 'internal' and 'external' borders, and their criticism – and fantasy of the border as sealable - persisted. In the following section, I describe how the criticism took on different shapes during training sessions for non-police-trained border control staff that I attended in the autumn of 2015.

Allocating resources: introducing non-police staff to border control

Even though the management had denied the poor quality of border control at the airport in the abovementioned feud in the monthly magazine *Dansk Politi*, a reorganisation of resources was instituted a few years later in 2015: to relieve pressure on police employees at the airport, the management decided to employ non-police staff. With Norway as a role model, Danish police started to train non-police as border guards specifically for passport control at Copenhagen Airport.

In the magazine *Dansk Politi*, the introduction of new administrative staff at the airport's passport-control booths was described in terms of resource allocation: *"Five administrative staff members have completed eight weeks of training in document-handling and are now ready to take their seats in the passport-control booths. This is meant to relieve the police, giving them time to concentrate on second-line work"* (Dansk Politi 2015a). The article continues, quoting a superior officer who said: *"When we start to consistently work with second-line, our professional satisfaction will increase."* However, he also touched upon the possibility that this new initiative might not be as successful as promised, adding: *"We are hoping that this does not mean a reduction in police because then the goal would not be to strengthen; it would just leave us at status quo, and that was not the intention of hiring non-police"* (ibid).

The introduction of this new staff at the airport was the result of various but coinciding calls to more efficiently use resources, and was intertwined in a number of discussions and tendencies such as the increased work pressure due to the expansion of the airport and the number of passengers, requirements to adhere to certain standards of control and investigation vis-à-vis the Schengen regulations, the past years' reductions in personnel and, more broadly, the process of introducing other professions into the Danish police force, which had traditionally been comprised of police and attorneys.[58] As part of the general transformation of the police from an emergency-prepared unit to a public law-enforcement agency, academics, accountants, communications staff, and other professions had been employed by the organisation in order to perform jobs and solve problems that were previously only handled by police-trained staff (Stevnsborg 2018a).

At the airport, the new group of non-police staff was introduced to perform passport control at the booths that physically separate the Schengen areas from the non-Schengen areas. In the language of the Schengen border codex, the work in the passport control booth is referred to as 'first-line passport control', and is ideally complemented by 'second-line passport control', which works as an opportunity to further check passengers and their documents, and which would often take place in a different location than the passport booth (Schengen Borders Code 2016). This distinction between the two kinds of control was the point of departure for resource allocation and the distribution of tasks in the process of integrating the new staff into the police unit at the airport. In the following, I will show how the notion of 'second line' – as both professionally satisfying and critical for the quality of border control – was repeated as a mantra during the training sessions that I observed.

The training of the new passport-control staff took place at the Danish Police Academy. It lasted for eight weeks and was followed by exams in all subjects. The course consisted of a variety of modules that covered topics such as Schengen regulations, ethics, interview techniques, social science and geography, and first aid. There are no educational requirements to apply for the job as staff in the first-line of passport control. A few weeks before a new group was about to embark on their training, a superior at the airport told me that the prospective passport-control staff could be former nurses or office assistants; however, experience from

[58] This decision was in part based on a project report, "Differentieret personalesammensætning i grænsekontrollens 1st line" (Differentiated composition of personnel in 1st line border control) (no year), which aims to ensure cost-effectiveness. The allocation of new staff was thus both intended to release professional staff for more demanding tasks, and to cut expenses since non-police-trained staff cost less to employ (www.folketinget.dk 2012)

the service industry or knowledge of languages would be an asset.[59] I attended the training sessions for the module *'Border checks and control of visa/residence permit in first-line: workflow, examination of documents, and stamping'*, which covered a wide array of techniques and procedures related to the work in first-line border control: from profiling techniques, the differences between forged and false documents, information on situations where one should or should not stamp a passport, complicated quizzes about residence-permit rules and exceptions to the rules, and the use of databases. Most of the prospective passport-control staff who I met had some sort of previous connection to either the travel or aviation industry. Some had worked as administrative staff at embassies; quite a few had been flight attendants or sales staff for airlines, which meant that they knew about the daily work at an airport and the kinds of situations that can occur between passengers, staff, security, and police authorities in the context of aviation. Even so, there was a lot to learn before they could staff a passport-control booth. During lunch, the police officers who were teaching the course discussed the new group of staff, and they explained to me that they had entered the police force at a young age, around 22; therefore, they had grown up with this system and had learned to think like a police officer. The new staffers had not. During the courses, a sense that the new staff did not have the same 'knack' for border control as the police became evident; e.g. when they were confused by the many exceptions to the rules regarding visa and residence permits. *"It's not an exact science"*, the trainers said, as if to calm them, however also indicating that learning the regulations by heart was not all it took; knowing how to police the border was more than applying the right regulation; it required a range of competences and skills, which exceeded that which could be taught at the eight week course in first line control, which the new staffers were offered.

The hopeful (yet doubtful) attitude that the superior in the quote above conveyed about the potential of introducing new staff also appeared in the course of the training sessions. *"Your task is to perform the first sorting,"* the new staffers were told. *"If you're in any doubt, just send them to the second line."* This instruction had evidently been recurrent in the classes prior to the ones I was attending because the class echoed the teacher like a choir: "*Second line!"* The instruction that they can "send them to the second line" indicates that the new staff do not have to worry about not fully understanding all of the specificities of entry, residence permits, or exceptions to the rules. Should they encounter anything that does not seem right, they should just send the person to 'the second line', where highly qualified police would address the issue. This understanding of the division of

[59] Note-registered interview, June 2015, Copenhagen Airport

labour conforms to the textbook definition of how to carry out border control at the external borders of the Schengen area. As a way to encourage the work that the new employees would be performing, the police officer teaching the course said, reassuringly: *"When you start working, proper border control will be done. There will be time to do the job. I'm sure we'll catch many more than we currently are."* As it were, the first-line passport-control staff were brought in to assist the overburdened police at the airport, and the logic of this solution was that it would allow the police more time to perform the much-coveted second-line investigation and case-processing work, and thus ensure a higher level of border control than what was currently the case.

However, during this training course for the new staff, the textbook understanding of the Schengen system's division of first- and second-line control was both presented as an ideal and ridiculed as impossible. In that sense, in addition to being introduced to the regulations, profiling and interview techniques, the new staffers also had to be initiated into the 'cynicism' of the police force: *"They're having an open house at the airport right now,"* one instructor joked as he started his class, and he continued to entertain the trainees with a description of the airport as a place where alcoholic or burnt-out police officers who could no longer serve in regular police jobs were put to use. The new staffers were also jokingly told not to complain to any superiors about the condition of the border control: "*We'll do that"*, the teacher continued, but with a tone that indicated that they, too, would not. No one would complain, and nothing would change. The quality of control would remain on what they perceived to be an unsatisfactory level. Not yet able to deconstruct yet endure the system in the same way as the police, the class participants wonderingly asked if the 'alcoholic' and 'burnt-out' police officers would be the ones performing the complicated second-line control work? Or, in an attempt to mirror the cynical language of their police instructors, they would cuttingly remark that the second-line division would need extra resources in order to process all the cases that they would send through, since they were being told that they would be doing a job that was currently not done adequately or at all. So, like the boy who declares that the emperor is not wearing any clothes, thus shattering the collective illusion, the newcomers questioned whether they could actually help solve the resource problems, and they thereby poked holes in the fantasy that the task of controlling the border could be solved once and for all by adding additional resources.

Through the training of the new first-line staff, then, a sort of contradiction played out: on the one hand, in the courses that were taught by police who worked in the airport themselves, this first- and second-line border control was celebrated as

state-of-the-art border control and as the goal for which to strive. On the other hand, it seemed clear to everyone (instructors and class participants alike) that the division between 'first' and 'second' line was just a textbook understanding of how police and border work could actually be performed, and that the level of control at the airport would still not be satisfactory, even with the introduction of the new staff. Furthermore, the matter of who endured and who did not constantly changed: the police who mocked the system would also defend it to the new staff, and reassure them that they were about to perform an important job *as if* the bureaucracy of the border made sense. This complex interplay was a case of 'knowing but still doing', a reinforcement of the system – even if it was becoming less and less possible to defend it as anything other than a failed attempt. As such, the police in the classroom assumed the role of the cynical subject who, in spite of their deconstruction, still enacts the system because of a fantasy of the sealable border.

Filling the holes or changing the task?

When I visited the airport a few months after the training sessions, I was told that the new staffers often ended up taking too many people aside to second-line control, that they performed more discriminatory checks, and checked more passports than they should. Recalling how Daniel relocated resources in Italy in order to ensure that the right critical questions were already posed in the first line (chapter five) the question persisted: even if the new staff in the airport detect 'more', did they detect better?

The introduction of new staff at the airport had changed the way that the border was staffed, but it had not necessarily solved the problems that had been addressed in the police officers' cries for 'more resources'. Rather than merely adding 'more resources' to address the same task, the task itself changed, too, by introducing the non-police first-liners. It was now a border that did not require the same amount of professional knowledge; checking passports suddenly became an 'easy task' that could be performed by non-police. Even though the first-line check has been described as a highly specialised kind of work in other contexts (cf. Frontex publications 2014, 2015, see also chapter five), in this allocation of resources, the first-line border control became a practical matter that could be done simply by checking passports. During the training sessions that I attended, the teachers constantly told the trainees appearing confused by all the complicated regulations, *"You don't have to worry about the tricky things, just pass it on"*, as if to indicate that they were not expected to be able to hold the same level of training

as the police officers; they should merely carry out the passport control, and the most professionally demanding tasks were performed by the 'second line' which is done at another moment; in a different place than the passport control that takes place at the passport booth. However, the training sessions also revealed that these two lines of passport control did not necessarily divide easily in practice. And, in either case, there were not enough new staffers to completely relieve the police officers from the first-line control. By downplaying passport control and the first line as a professionally-demanding place, a new and less specialized sort of border materialized. My point is that, in this case, 'more resources' did not simply fill a gap. Rather, it changed the character of the task in a way that did not necessarily demand fewer resources.[60]

To further explore the expectations inherent in the discussions about resources, I turn from the addition of resources to claims about a waste of resources. In the next section, I show how the inherent belief in the border as sealable played out at a course for police officers working second-line border control, and how this paradoxically led to a questioning of the rules and regulations of the state itself.

A waste of resources: being more statist than the state

The trained police officers also had to undergo training in Schengen regulations in order to ensure adherence to the shared standards within the agreements. According to the regulations, the officers had to complete a two-week course in *second-line* border control, which had been developed by the National Border Control Unit in accordance with Frontex guidelines for training curricula. The overall goal of the course was to ensure the quality of border control through compliance with the Schengen border code of conduct.

Similar to the training sessions of the non-police that I described above, the police attending this course also joked about the standards, procedures, and regulations; they were perceived as being a far cry from their own experiences with and knowledge of the daily work at the airport. Their criticism was ironically summarised in an anecdotal recounting of what a conversation with the

[60] In June 2016, Automated Border Control (ABC) machines were introduced in order to ensure both efficient and secure passage of EU passengers age 18+. ABC was not directly initiated by EU/Schengen regulations, but from the airport-management company as a means of ensurings efficiency and security, though EU-funded, a management-level police officer from the airport told me. The implementation phase revealed that a lot of staff was still needed in order for the machines to run properly.

management would sound like*: "You cannot say this to the press." "But it's true." "Yes, but leave it up to us." "Will you say it, then?' 'No.' 'Then who will?'* However, even though some of the courses contained a light atmosphere with jokes about the state of the system, the officers' frustration with the current situation also led to discussions about the sense of the system, and what was perceived as a waste of (scarce) resources. This became evident during a session about border control and fundamental rights in which the course's external instructor clashed with the course participants.[61]

"His face was all red when he left the classroom," noted one police officer as a new class was about to begin. *"Well, I think he's biased; he's not a neutral party because he has an interest in attracting as many refugees as possible,"* another replied. The police officers were referring to an incident that had played out during the previous lecture in which a representative from a Danish NGO for asylum-seekers rights had been invited to speak about fundamental rights. The lecture was part of a compulsory two-week course for police officers who work at the external borders of Schengen at Copenhagen Airport. However, before the NGO representative even got very far with his prepared presentation, he was interrupted with critical questions regarding the NGO's involvement in police work and its motives for working with the police. Eventually, what was intended to be a lecture on the fundamental rights of asylum seekers ended up as a heated discussion of the legitimacy of asylum claims and a debate about the system for processing them.

The NGO representative began his presentation by proudly describing the cooperation between the NGO and the Danish Police in the return operations of rejected asylum seekers. He explained that this kind of cooperation between a police agency and a humanitarian NGO was quite unique, and something that had gained wide recognition, also outside the country. However, soon after he began talking, a police officer interrupted him: *"You guys are so biased!"* the officer exclaimed. As if prepared, the representative promptly rejected this claim, explaining that the organisation was not biased in their legal administration of cases, but they were indeed an interest group that was fighting for the rights of asylum seekers. The police officer was not satisfied with this answer, insisting that this was exactly what he found terrifying about the NGO working together with Danish Police, and he accused the NGO of having a goal to get more refugees to come to Denmark. The representative denied this, persisting that the goal of the organisation was to ensure that the rules were followed. As the representative

[61] Fieldwork observation, December 2015, Training session, Danish Police. Quoted from notes.

continued to explain the asylum conventions, and the process of passing and processing claims, critical questions kept coming. One of the most contentious class participants provocatively probed into why the police were not allowed to refuse groundless claims for asylum at the borderline, after the NGO representative explained that it was mostly Syrian nationals who were currently obtaining asylum in Denmark, and that most asylum claims from northern Africa were currently refused. "*I've met people who were laughing in my face,"* the officer alleged, somewhat desperately. The NGO representative, who was getting agitated by the debate, promptly snapped back at the police officer, saying that he would have to become an attorney if he was interested in processing asylum claims. This, however, did not make the officer back off. Instead, he insisted that the system of processing asylum cases was very resource-demanding, especially when one knows that the person seeking asylum is lying. The NGO representative exclaimed that the officer could not *know* whether they were lying before their case had been processed. He instructed the police officer that, under the rule of law, asylum seekers have the right to have their claims processed. The class participants did not let the NGO representative return to his presentation; they were too eager to discuss whether or not asylum seekers have legitimate claims. Referring to stories of theft and violence that they had either experienced themselves or heard from others, they asked whether criminal offences that occurred during the processing of an asylum claim would be taken into consideration in relation to the claim's outcome. Such offenses do indeed affect the assessment of credibility, the NGO representative explained, but not the assessment of the person's right to protection. Petty crimes can influence the kind of residence permit asylum seekers are granted, and serious criminal offences can lead to very restricted types of permit (e.g. special cases of tolerated stay). The class participants were not satisfied with his answer. One police officer contended that anyone can claim that they are in danger of being persecuted if returned to their country of origin, and another objected, "*This is what* "Familien Danmark" *doesn't like,"*.

The NGO representative strongly objected to this, insisting that the asylum-processing authorities know whether such claims are true or false; the UN conducts fact-finding missions that form the basis for decisions regarding asylum cases, and he emphasised that the cases always include various kinds of information and are not merely based on the statements of the asylum seekers. The representative specified that the NGO did not encourage asylum seekers to cheat, lie, or steal, but simply worked to ensure that their rights as asylum seekers are respected. He reminded the officers that Denmark is bound to human rights conventions (i.e. UN Geneva Convention and EU charter of Fundamental Rights)

regarding the right to protection, and he insisted that regardless of whether or not the police officers agreed, it remained their job to comply with these conventions. As the course coordinator, a superior officer, entered the room, the discussion died down and turned into vague murmurings. The NGO representative remarked, *"Denmark takes so few refugees, it is laughable!"* and a policeman noted, *"I think the conventions are hopelessly behind the times,"* while another sighed, *"Waste of resources."* In an attempt to calm his colleagues and make them understand how the system works, another policeman made an extraordinary comparison: *"It's like a* [notorious Danish mass murderer from the 1990s] *– he's an ***, but under the rule of law, you have to give him a fair trial."*

The entire dispute made for a very peculiar experience: a situation in which a group of police officers were fighting with a representative from an asylum-seekers rights organisation about the 'rule of law'. Some police officers in the classroom seemed to be beginning to lose faith in the border system, while in a surprising twist, the NGO representative assumed the role of an advocate for the current system, insisting on the reliability of fact-finding missions and asylum case-processing procedures. (In other cases, the reliability of such procedures and the narrow group of asylum seekers that are granted asylum status has been contested by asylum rights advocacy groups). At the same time, police officers were questioning the sense of the system, pointing out inconsistencies and inefficiencies. In their criticism of the system, they were even claiming to be safeguarding the interests of 'familien Danmark', a Danish idiom for a popular, middle-class point of view. The class participants voiced their criticism of what they saw as a 'waste of resources' in the processing of cases for asylum seekers with nationalities that were not even being granted asylum at the moment. Similarly, they also frowned upon what they referred to as 'asylum shoppers'; i.e., people who registered as asylum seekers in multiple EU member states, which meant they could not be turned away at the border but had to go through resource-demanding processing in both the police and the asylum systems.

I suggest that, in this case, the desire to seal off the border makes the police officers so frustrated about the current state of affairs; a desire, or fantasy that expects to be able to seal the border. As the classroom disagreement shows, the police officers expressed a strong belief in the promise of the border that they were willing to question the basic principles of rule of law. In other words, the discussions regarding resources were not merely about having enough resources to adhere to the current regulations (i.e., Schengen rules), but also touched upon more fundamental questions regarding how to administer state resources. In that sense,

the officers were questioning whether a border that allows people through before deciding whether or not they can stay is even a desirable border (for 'familien Danmark'). As such, they were what Navaro-Yashin calls more 'statist than the state' (Navaro-Yashin 2002: 165), insofar as being 'statist' means expecting a system to be able to catch all, a system to be all-encompassing, and expecting the state to be able to fully manage its borders. As the disagreement in the classroom demonstrates, they were tired of being ridiculed by bogus asylum seekers laughing in their faces, especially when *they* were the ones who cared about the state and the well-being of 'familien Danmark'.

The fantasy of resources that fill the gaps: return to a 'show of force' ideal

So far in this chapter, I have tried to capture what Wendy Brown calls a "desire for walls" (2004: 108), and how it plays out in the allocation and re-organisation of resources in the airport of Copenhagen.[62] Before concluding this chapter, I want to briefly examine the notion of 'use of resources' as it appeared in relation to other kinds of border-control practices that I encountered throughout my fieldwork. The use of resources, and notably the *waste* of resources, also became a central point of discussion after the re-introduction of border control at the Danish–German border in early 2016, which took place in response to a large number of refugees arriving during 2014 and 2015. In the next chapter (chapter 7), I explore how the arrival of this unexpected number of refugees in Europe during the summer of 2015 led to border control being re-introduced between a number of Schengen member states (cf. DeGenova 2017; Hess et al. 2017), including at the Danish border with Germany, and I discuss the enormous amount of work needed to re-introduce border control at the borderline. I argue that, curiously, such a reintroduction of border control managed to keep the hierarchies and power relations between Schengen-member states intact. But before I get to that discussion, I want to look more closely at questions concerning 'resources', and how such claims played a crucial role in staffing the Danish border. During my fieldwork amongst police

[62] In the book *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (2010), political philosopher Wendy Brown links a desire for walls to the nation state, and describes four types of historically specific national fantasies which have informed the nation states preoccupation for walls and borders: the fantasy of a dangerous alien in an increasingly borderless world, a fantasy of containment, a fantasy of impermeability, and fantasies of purity, innocence and goodness. She relates this to a psychoanalysis reading of defense that which "*spare the ego from any encounter that disturbs the ego's conceit of itself*" (Brown 2010: 129).

officers at the airport, the topic of possibly reintroducing border control with Germany was debated during lunch breaks and coffee breaks between classes. Some told me that they had already been notified that a temporary introduction of border control might take place. If so, the operation would require accommodation nearby; it also meant a lot of time away from family and a lot of overtime hours. Others were more suspicious, or jokingly stated that they (the management, the politicians) would have to roll out barbed wire if they wanted to properly seal off the border. There was a lurking feeling that the task of staffing the sea border and land border with Germany would be a very resource-demanding job; but even with plenty of resources, it might also be an impossible job. Furthermore, a temporary border control would put further pressure on the already overworked police, and the potential deployments would complicate the logistics of their family lives – and for what? A temporary border control would not be an all-encompassing border control; the border would not be sealed off. In these lunchtime discussions, the police often seemed cynical or even apathetic.

Let me now take a quick leap from the cynicism and frustrations of the police officers to the attitude with which the greater public met the introduction of temporary border control. Not only police officers seemed to deconstruct yet endure the fantasy of border as sealable. The dynamics which I have described above did certainly also play out in a greater public context. In the beginning of January 2016, as a "*reaction to the re-introduction of border control at the Swedish borders"* (Danish Prime Minister's Office 2016), the Danish borders with Germany re-introduced border control for the first time since the borders were opened 15 years earlier, when Denmark entered into the Schengen Agreement. The resources needed to staff the border were indeed astounding: the border crossings were staffed 24/7 all week, which meant that police from other police districts had to be deployed to the border. These deployed police officers would be taken away from their own districts; they had to be transported, accommodated, fed, and granted compensatory time off from their regular jobs. The immediate reaction to this re-introduction showed how the logics of the problem and the solution constantly shifted position: some argued that the border control was in vain because the number of detainees was very small; others claimed that the low number of detainees at the borders was due to the poor level of border control, which remained a spot-check control. Only the main roads were continuously staffed, and small roads were subject to mobile border control, as could be read in Danish media (BT 2016; DR 2016; Politiken 2016, 2017; Jydske Vestkysten 2017). A few weeks after the introduction of temporary border control, the Danish daily, BT, printed the article with the captivating title: *"Should have been conducting spot check*

border control, but... Border officers are spending oceans of time in Lalandia*"* (BT 2016), which reported that due to rotation and off-duty regulations, the posted officers claimed that they spent endless hours waiting in their accommodation location; which happened to be the apartments near Lalandia, an aqua dome, famously known as a holiday destination for families. In the article, police officers complained that their strict working hour regulations increased the need for more officers, since each officer was only allowed to work 8 hours before being replaced. The story was reported as to underline the resource-demanding consequences of the border control operation.

Throughout the months and years that followed, astounding numbers and figures would be reported in newspapers, used to both criticize and celebrate the operation. In the daily Politiken, one could read the article: *"Milestone: Police and Home Guard have spent 1 million hours on border control"* (Politiken 2017), combined with a report of the low number of detainees this had resulted in. Again, some argued that the police needed more resources so that they could catch more people entering illegally, and others argued that the border-control operation should end since there were no migrants arriving. As a result of the work pressure on the police force, the government initiated a process to 'save resources' while maintaining the border-control operation. Six months after the re-introduction of border control, the Home Guard, a volunteer military group, was brought in to assist the police. Most logistical tasks were allocated to the Home Guard; e.g., they were in charge of managing food deliveries and equipment distribution, and they transported minors and detainees who needed to be driven across the country to asylum camps or detention centres, respectively. The Home Guard also assisted at the borderline, although always together with police officers. The following year, the government decided that the police should start training so-called 'police cadets'. A six-month education would train the cadets to perform border control and guard high-risk locations. Ultimately, 18 months after the temporary re-introduction of border control, the military was brought in to relieve the police from some of their duties and to save resources. With the introduction of the military, the allocation of resources was not simply a matter of downgrading the level of education and training, but also about introducing a completely different kind of profession that usually deals with completely different objects, tasks, and interests (Stevnsborg 2018).[63] In that sense, the fantasy of being able to seal off borders, led to not only to failed attempts to fill gaps, but also to the transformation of the scope of the border – in the sense that sealing the border was no longer a

[63] For an elaborated criticism of the lack of legal regulation between police and military tasks in the matter of border control and surveillance tasks, see Stevnsborg 2018a, 2018b.

highly specialised job, but something that could only be done by adding an endless number of non-police-trained resources. In that way, rather than sealing off the border; a new border and a new problem was created, however, only with less-trained-staff.

Conclusion: increasing the expectations of the border

In this chapter, I have showed how a 'fantasy of the border' led to different strategies to allocate resources. By departing from Navaro-Yashin's anthropological take of the psychoanalytical catchphrase 'they know it very well, but they are still doing it', I explored how a heavily criticised and debated topic such as 'border control' was navigated by those who work with it on a daily basis. The police officers with whom I interacted articulated strong criticism of the system in which they were engaged. Taking Navaro-Yashin's call to situate the psychoanalytical notion of a universal 'we' that 'knows' but still 'does', I presented different ways of working with and around the 'fantasy of the border'. My analysis explored how 'the fantasy of the border' takes different shapes and carves out different understandings of what constitutes a problem – and a solution. Sometimes, it takes the form of a call for 'more resources'; other times, a complaint of 'wasting resources'. Under certain circumstances, this leads to cynicism; under other circumstances, it leads to frustration and resistance towards the working conditions of the system.

The first part of the analysis showed how the police officers in the airport felt abandoned by the management and politicians who did not seem invested in solving the problem of the 'open door' at the airport. In the second part, I showed that concurrent with their criticism of the quality of the border control, they taught new staffs about the border control *as if* it the allocation of new (non-police trained) staff would be able to relieve the pressure on the police officers. In the third part, I showed how the fantasy of the border as sealable made some police officers act 'more statist than the state' in the sense that they favoured the seizure of non-documented travellers over the adherence to asylum rights and fundamental rights conventions. I have, however, also described how the constant allocation of resources did not manage to 'fill a gap', or to seal off the border. Rather, or instead, a constant redefinition of the scope of the border was brought about by manning the border with less professional staff (or, military staff); which therefore could but approach the task differently. A range of studies of state and bureaucracy have indicated the persistence of the fantasy about an ideal of 'regularity', even when

every encounter reproduces an experience of an 'irregular bureaucracy' (Rozakou 2018). Understanding bureaucracies as aspirations, anthropologist Colin Hoag, notes that they are nevertheless very powerful aspirations which are often taken to be prescriptions (Hoag 2011). This means that even if state and bureaucratic practice cannot but defer from the idealized standard of bureaucracy; the deviation from standard is always interpreted as a lack or mistake (ibid.: 82). In this chapter I showed how the quest to fulfil the expectations for the border was evoked by the police officers themselves, by the airport-management company, and by legislation that is passed on the basis of popular vote and opinion. Faced with deviations from regulations and standards, the police officers complained that there was a lack of resources. Further, the police management and Danish government started to allocate resources in order to try to meet the expectations, even if that meant soldiers on the streets (and endless hours of waiting in the family apartments of Denmark's largest aqua dome). However, what I have shown in this chapter is that these initiatives only increased the expectation of what a border is able to do; it only reinforced the fantasy of a sealable border; rendering, perhaps, the gap between reality and ideal even wider. In that regard, the attempts to pin down the border, to stabilize it and control it, never led to its sealing, but only to its transformation.

Chapter 7: Re-establishing "peace and order": reintroducing border control at the Danish border

The flow of "the borderless Europe" is currently being slowed by the re-introduction of border control at the Danish land borders with Germany. For the past few years, all cars have been required to reduce speed when passing the temporarily installed border-control infrastructures that have been set up at the motorway and main country road that cross the border. Fifteen years earlier, all border-control infrastructure had been removed in the name of free mobility. But with the unexpected return of the borderline as a site for control at the beginning of 2016, the police had to erect a makeshift border infrastructure, such as trailers, tents, and roadblocks, which would enable passenger control at the borders towards Germany. At the motorway near the town of Kruså, a police van had been parked in the middle of the road, and traffic islands had been put in place to instruct drivers to slow down. Speed limitations signs disrupted the 130 kilometres per hour with which cars, vans, and lorries used to sweep past.

Throughout my visits in 2016 and 2017, the newly established border infrastructure was continuously being revised to achieve the right level of slowing down traffic across the border. On my first visit, two officers from the police management were also visiting to evaluate and optimise the position of the roadblocks, the police cars, and the tents in order to prevent these installations from bringing Easter-holiday traffic to a halt. The posted police officers showed me around their facilities. They had just had extra trailers installed the day before, which provided them with some extra space and a place for the nightshift to rest. These makeshift facilities for the round-the-clock border personnel were rudimentary: they consisted of two trailers that each had a kitchenette, a toilet, a sitting room, a sleeping area, and an office room with a table, a chair, and a whiteboard on which messages and procedure instructions were posted. In the camping-style kitchenette, the coffee machine was constantly brewing. A catering company brought aluminium-foil pans with a warm lunch for the border personnel, along with polystyrene boxes filled with the daily employment benefit: a snack bag that contained a bottle of water, a piece of fruit, and a chocolate bar. On the table in the sitting room, there was a large plastic bucket of candy that the police had received from locals who were happy that the police had returned to control the borderline.

A few months prior to the reintroduction of border control at the Danish land borders with Germany, a great number of refugees had been travelling to the European continent, which led to what would later be called the European refugee or migrant crisis, or in the words of critical border and migration scholars "the long summer of migration" (Kasparek 2015, Hess 2016).[64] The complex combination of an ongoing civil war in Syria, continued migration from northern and sub-Saharan African countries, and an unresolved stance on immigration policies amongst EU-member countries led to the highest recorded numbers of refugees and migrants to Europe as well as to the then highest number of casualties, particularly as a consequence of perilous journeys across the Mediterranean Sea or the Balkan Mountains (UNHCR 2015, International Organization for Migration 2017, Eurostat 2018). During the autumn of 2015, media outlets in northern Europe steadily reported news story after news story about how national authorities were struggling to handle the constantly evolving and growing situation caused by the large number of refugee arrivals. As a spectator watching official European news channels that summer, one was likely to see a similar pattern of events develop in another, more-northern EU-member state every few days: refugees filling border-crossing trains, walking along motorways and crossing borders on foot, thereby circumventing the European border and asylum system, which is built on the principle of external borders and first country of arrival policies. As these refugees moved north through Europe, so did certain insolvable problems, which exposed a European border and asylum policy that had severe legal, moral, and logistical shortcomings. The authorities' struggles made it more and more obvious that the situation could not be resolved within the constraints of current national nor European legislation.

In order to counteract the unprecedented pressure on asylum, immigration, and police authorities – and the logistical and political chaos that resulted from the refugee crisis – a number of EU–Schengen member states introduced temporary border controls in the late autumn of that year, thereby compromising what had been a cornerstone in the Schengen-cooperation; the right to free movement of people and goods. The re-introduction of border control was a clear break with the ideals of free mobility and was a solution that for long seemed to be a highly controversial and almost unthinkable move to make. On 4 January 2016, the Danish government followed suit. In a press conference arranged to announce the reintroduction of border control, the Danish prime minister lamented the need to introduce border control. Although he presented himself as a *"big believer in the*

[64] On a discussion about the politics of naming the events of 2015-2016, see Crawley and Skleparis (2018) and Sigona, Nando (2018)

European project and in the importance of European solutions", he nevertheless stressed the need to *"take control"* of the situation, proclaiming: *"We will not see refugees and migrants walking on our motorways again. We will secure peace and order"* (Danish Prime Minister 2016). In this chapter, I take the Danish prime minister's words as a point of departure, and I examine how such "peace and order" was sought secured by reintroducing the borderline as a site for control at the Danish borders towards Germany. In other words, I depart from the moment in which the fundamental uncertainties of how to solve the problems that authorities encountered during the refugee arrivals of 2015 led to a break with the principle of free mobility and to the introduction of temporary border control at select Danish border-crossing points.

Crisis and normalcy

In this chapter, I approach the Danish government's decision to control the refugee crisis through a promise of 'peace and order', by turning to the terms crisis and normalcy. The designation of events as a 'crisis' brings with it a range of assumptions and dichotomies, such as before and after, normality and abnormality, chaos and order, and extraordinariness and ordinariness (De Genova and Tazzioli 2016: 10-11).

With regards to crisis, several scholars have pointed to the political aspects of describing the events of 2015 as a crisis (cf. Allen et al. 2017; Crawley et al. 2017). In the collective article, "Europe/crisis: new keywords of 'the crisis' in and of 'Europe'", researchers were urged to critically consider the term 'crisis' by asking: *What "crisis"? Whose "crisis"? Who gains, and who loses from labelling the present conjuncture as "crisis"?* (De Genova and Tazziloi 2016: 11). In a critical commentary, sociologist Prem Kumar Rajaram subsequently followed this request, claiming, *"the refugee crisis in Europe is fabricated"* (Rajaram 2015) inasmuch as it renders politically constructed problems exceptional and abstract. In an op-ed, anthropologist Bridget Anderson also argued that what was playing out was not a 'refugee crisis' brought on by and because of the arrival of refugees; rather, it was a 'European crisis' brought on by and because of Europe or the EU itself (Anderson 2015). Anthropologist Nicholas De Genova elaborated on this point, arguing that 'Europe' – particularly its colonial legacies and unsolved problems – was indeed a co-producer, rather than a passive receiver, of problems taking place elsewhere (De Genova 2017: 18).

Following this perspective, social anthropologists Sabine Hess and Bernd Kasparek (2017b) stress the importance of understanding the events of 2015 as part of a continuous crisis that is imbedded within the European border and asylum system; as such, the events of 2015 did not constitute an abnormality that diverged from a state of normality. They suggest instead an understanding of the *border as conflict* since both crises and exceptions to the rule are at the core of the EU border and asylum system. They further argue that the "control dilemma" between free mobility and secure borders remains unresolved, and that the system has produced a continuous state of crisis (Hess and Kasparek 2017: 60). In their study of Frontex operations in the Mediterranean region, criminologists Katja Franko Aas and Helene Gundhus similarly point to the inherently conflictual and liminal character of a borderland, which they define as *"an uncertain, intermediate space or a region which is neither lawless nor marked by a well-functioning rule of law"* (2015: 14). This definition of "chronicity of crisis" (Vigh 2008) in which a state of crisis is the constant context corresponds to the uncertainties and the lack of a well-functioning rule of law. In this understanding, a crisis is not a completed moment in time; rather, it is a constant that runs throughout the border system. In this chapter, however, I am interested in exploring what the "peace and order" or 'normalcy' that replaced the refugee crisis looked like. As such, I attempt to analytically grasp the perceived aftermath of a perceived crisis and, in doing so, I shift attention away from a preoccupation to appropriately define the scope of a crisis in order to study how different narratives of crisis frame and enact the events that they describe, and thereby how they create certain understandings of 'normalcy' or 'crisis'. To gain such a perspective, I step away from the migration and border literature and find inspiration in anthropological studies, which have examined notions of 'crisis' and 'normalcy'.

In her book 'Anti-Crisis' (2013), anthropologist Janet Roitman takes a critical look at the perpetual "crises narratives" within contemporary societies, which she argues are always quick to declare yet another crisis. In her examination of how the financial crisis played out amongst American banks in the late 2000s, she studies the analytical work that crises narratives perform through how they order the world (Roitman 2013: 3), thereby refuting the automatized appointment of crises as moments of truth and epistemological impasse. Building on Roitman's work, Sarah Green analyses the wave of crises that Greek society has encountered over the past decade, arguing that the feeling of crisis during the summer of 2015 was caused by a sense of disproportion, and by a lack of connection between the events and the capacity to deal with them; in other words, there was no recognisable order through which to solve the problems (Green 2018: 114). In her

study of how life in a Tamil fishing village recovered in the wake of a natural disaster, anthropologist Frida Hastrup also deals with questions of disproportion and the perpetual work involved in re-establishing a sense of proportion. By reworking fellow anthropologist Henrik Vigh's notion of 'chronicity of crises' and 'crises as context' into the notion of 'crises *of* context' (2011: 132), Hastrup directs attention away from the scope of the crisis to its context. This emphasises the perpetual work needed to establish a meaningful context in the wake of what has been experienced as a crisis that disrupted a previous sense of order. In that sense, Hastrup is less interested in defining the temporal or spatial range of a crisis and more in studying the continuous attempts to achieve normalcy after what has been experienced as abnormal (ibid.).

Departing from these understandings of crisis and normalcy, the remainder of this chapter focuses on how 'the refugee crisis' and its aftermath were conceptualised by the police officers who worked through it. I describe their attempts to establish new control measures and, through a contrast to earlier points of 'crisis' and 'transformation' in the recent history of the Danish border, I argue that the current return of the borderline did indeed create 'peace', inasmuch as the borderland was emptied of refugees. However, this peace had been achieved at the expense of 'order'. Police officials perceived the lack of order as a lack of professionalism that also contained a risk that they would merely be focusing on 'ethnic control' (a local term) when conducting border control at the borderline. At the end of the chapter, I argue that the daily practice of re-introducing border control reaffirmed the location of Denmark within the EU. In other words, with the reintroduction of border control, the unravelling of Europe's geography that the refugee crisis prompted was put on hold, and the location of Denmark within Europe – as a peaceful place devoid of chaos – was thereby re-established. However, this situation left the police officers with a sense of disproportion.

Back to normal?

During my first visits to the border control unit in March 2016, I was told that the situation was *"much better now that border control has been established"*. From the experiences that I accumulated at the border, this was not a statement that I came to interpret as a political argument for or against temporary border control, nor was it an assessment of the actual police work being conducted. Rather, I got to understand that this kind of "it's better now" statement was a comment on the fact

that the months during 2015 when so many refugees were arriving every day had been very turbulent. At least now, the turbulence had ceased.

During the summer and autumn of 2015 – the peak of the so-called refugee crisis – the police authorities had not been prepared for the arrival of so many refugees; they did not have the proper infrastructure to manage the many detainees or asylum seekers, and they did not have adequate personnel to register and process all of the cases. In many ways and on many levels, the situation had been out of hand, and it had put the police officers in a variety of turbulent and difficult situations from physical fights to moral dilemmas: due to the inadequate border infrastructure, people would often have to wait for hours in warm busses without water, and families were separated. In addition, police sometimes had to physically control the border by fighting "with grown men", as one put it, to make them register their fingerprints in the EuroDac database (this registration would then determine their further asylum procedure). As I accompanied Jan while he policed the borderline by driving around the border area, he asked me whether I knew the American TV series *'Hill Street Blues'*. Making a comparison to this 1980s drama about the intense working conditions and high tempo at a big-city police station was the best way that Jan could describe the situation before border control was re-introduced. He further accentuated the sense of turbulence by recounting a story about how during the busiest weeks, the police had been instructed to bring a maximum of 10 undocumented travellers into the station each day, disregarding everyone else they encountered that day. Jan had not been in favour of this instruction since it indicated a clear break with the law; which meant that some people would encounter the police and be taken into the station while others would be allowed to travel.[65] At least now, with border control re-introduced, going to work no longer meant separating families, forcing people to seek asylum in Denmark against their will, or explicitly circumventing the law.

However, even if the police considered the situation after the border was re-introduced as "better" than before, the new border system did not create a sense of normalcy, let alone peace and order. In the following, I will show how, work pressure was still very high because of the many hours required to staff the border 24/7. Also, the makeshift infrastructure was still inadequate, and the police officers complained about the lack of basic amenities, such as proper internet access at the

[65] On other occasions, I heard this instruction explained as a form of relief in that it constituted a guideline in times of turbulence and uncertainty. I cannot verify whether the management gave these instructions, but I include the officers' accounts because it indicates the insecurity, speculation, and confusion that police at the border experienced before and immediately after the re-introduction of temporary border control.

border-crossing points or wind shelters. On top of this, other police tasks related to the Border Police Unit (border-crossing crime, cooperation with German police, etc.) also had to, even though not much time was left for that; most intelligence work and strategic work had to be put on hold. The key objective was to control the border and provide the Ministry of Justice with statistics related to the number of checked passports. Things had not simply returned to the way they were before Schengen, but neither were they completely different. Rather, the 'new normal' was filled with speculation about the future and about what might happen next at the border (cf. Green 2012b).

Establishing peace and order at the Danish border

The presence of additional staff created a buzzing atmosphere at the police station in Padborg. The parking lot was filled with cars and trailers from which equipment was distributed. During each guard change, minibuses collected and delivered the police officers, who would rush in and out, shake hands and greet each other. Inside the station, the morning meetings were crowded; the lunch tables and soft armchairs in the coffee room were full. Most of the personnel at the motorway were not local police, and they did not usually work as part of the Border Police Unit. They had been sent from other police districts throughout Denmark to assist in staffing the border. The posted police officers stayed at hotels and conference centres in the border region, and the deployed staff's main task was to help the regular border police control traffic across the border.

In official terms, the government's 'Operation Border Control' consisted of *"spot-checks based on ongoing observation of cross-border traffic"*, and it specified that *"the intensity of border controls will be continuously adapted to the current situation"* (UIM 2016). In practice, this political decision materialised into three main types of border control: First, select passengers would be pulled aside for border control (i.e., control of identification papers and/or residence permit) at the newly erected border-crossing point at the main motorway and the main country road from Germany into Denmark. At the makeshift border infrastructures located here, the police would pull over certain cars for an additional check. The police had the authority to check identification cards, such as the driver's licenses or passports of all passengers in the car, and in special cases search the car. The border-control operation at the main roads demanded many personnel. The temporary border installations were staffed 24/7 by police officers who would work in rotation shifts. During the cold months of the year, three or four police officers would handle

border control for 30 minutes at a time before being replaced by another three or four officers who would handle border control for another 30 minutes before being replaced by yet another team of three or four officers.

Second, at 9:00, 11:00, 13:00, and continuing every two hours throughout the day, the intercity train from Flensburg, Germany, would arrive at the railway platform in the little border town of Padborg. For each train arrival, police officers would gather to check the passengers' identification papers. Officers from the station would arrive along with officers from the mobile patrols and sometimes the customs joined, too.[66] During the times I visited, there would sometimes be a group of up to 15 staff waiting for the arrival of a train that consisted of five or even just two train cars. When the train arrived at the station, the train supervisor would open the doors for the police and provide them with an estimated number of passengers or pass along an observation about 'suspicious' passengers. Passengers boarding the train would be asked to wait while two or three police officers entered the train; the rest of the officers would remain on the platform, preventing anyone from exiting the train.

Third, so-called 'mobile controls' would drive around in the borderland to patrol the smaller roads that cross the border. Unlike the train arrivals, it was not a border control that made every single passenger or car stop for inspection at every border crossing; instead, it was an operation that selected cars for further check based on the police's constant monitoring of the cars that passed them. On drives from the police station to the train station or the border crossing points, other police cars were constantly passed. This borderline – which had not been subject to constant border control since Denmark entered the Schengen Agreement in 2001 – was once again the object of permanent border control with a heavy presence of police cars and personnel. Meanwhile, however, something curious was happening at the border: Amidst the buzzing atmosphere with its extra personnel, attention from the public, and the constant re-organisation of the temporary border-crossing infrastructure to make it as effective as possible, there were no refugees, no asylum seekers, no "illegals", as the police would call them. As I discuss later, this led to a peculiar contradiction between crisis and normalcy; or, as I call it in the following section, between commotion and emptiness.

[66] From spring 2016, this also included representatives from the Danish Home Guard and, from autumn 2017, soldiers from the Danish military.

Police and home guard waiting for the train arrival at Padborg train station, August 2017.

Commotion and emptiness

I first noticed this curious emptiness when I spent a day together with Birte, whose main job was to process the cases whenever someone was brought in by the police.[67] The cases could either be asylum cases, negotiations of return vis-à-vis the Dublin Agreements, or criminal cases. In an asylum case, the person in question would not be detained but their fingerprints, name, and nationality would be registered in the EuroDac database. After being registered in this system (the first step in becoming a registered asylum seeker in Denmark), the person would be released and free to travel. Thus, their belongings would be given back to them, and they would be allowed to travel to the main asylum reception centre, which is located in another part of Denmark about four hours away by train. If a person detained at the border appeared to have already been registered in the EuroDac database in another EU–Schengen member country, a process of returning them to this 'country of first entry' would be initiated. The case would be sent over to the National Alien's Centre (NUC)[68], which would negotiate with the country of first entry regarding the possibility of return. By leaving the country of first entry, the person is violating the mobility regulations of asylum claimers, and has thus illegally entered Denmark, which means they are detained and not free to travel. A person met at the border who does not wish to claim asylum can be charged for an illegal stay, and subsequently prosecuted and deported. In special circumstances, and if encountered in close proximity to the borderline, the person can be sent back to Germany without prosecution in accordance with the 1954 Danish–German bilateral border-trespasser agreement.[69]

In theory, this is how the different categories are divided. However, in practice, the same person might move through all three categories before their case is assessed. The person might arrive and be taken to the station as a border trespasser, refusing to claim asylum. Together with the police who brought in the person, Birte might investigate the possibility of sending the person back to Germany, while a check in the EuroDac database might show that the person had already been registered by another EU–Schengen member country. Additional information about the person might also be discovered along the way: they might be wanted for a criminal offence in another country; they might commit an offence while in police custody; or they might be under suspicion for being connected to

[67] Participant observation, March 2016, Padborg

[68] Since mid-2016 relegated to a sub-division (UCN) at the Police district of Northern Sealand, Denmark

[69] Official name: "Bekendtgørelse om en mellem Danmark og Folkerepublikken Tyskland afsluttet overenskomst om udbringelse af personer fra Danmark til Forbundsrepublikken Tyskland og fra Forbundsrepublikken Tyskland til Danmark"

networks that facilitate human trafficking. All such additional information determines the actions that the police take next, including which authorities will be contacted and in relation to which articles the person will be prosecuted. The articles each have different conditions concerning imprisonment, deadlines for case processing, court hearings, deportations, and the expiry of charges. Furthermore, the information needed to process a case is not easily accessed through a single check in the database; often, Birte would have to consult colleagues in other departments (police or juridical) or wait for an answer from other countries' police or asylum departments in order to receive the correct information about the person in question. Often, only partial and/or contradicting information would be available about the person in question.

The processing of cases was thus not a straightforward process; in order to keep track of the cases, Birte was trying to establish a system in which a person's case could be easily followed through the process. When I met with her, she had a whiteboard on the wall of her office on which she noted the course of a case: time of arrest, name, nationality, time of imprisonment, deadline for deporting the person/expiry of case. There were a number of large plastic boxes with labels sitting on the floor of her office. On one, it said, *"Waiting for answer from EuroDac"*; on another, *"Waiting for answer from US* [Immigration Services]"; and on another, *"Rejection received, waiting for deportation"*. Birte told me that she used the boxes to keep track of the cases, and that she would move each case from one box to the other as the case proceeded and its status changed. She recounted that, during the peak of the refugee arrivals (in autumn 2015), these boxes had been filled to the brim with case files. She showed me an ongoing case file so I could feel how thin one single case file was; this indicated that, when the boxes were filled to the top, they had each contained a huge number of cases. With the complexity of case processing in mind, the job of duly registering or prosecuting people who illegally crossed the border over the course of the previous years seemed to be an almost-impossible task that was destined to fail. However, when I visited Birte a few months after the introduction of border control at the borderline, the boxes were almost completely empty.

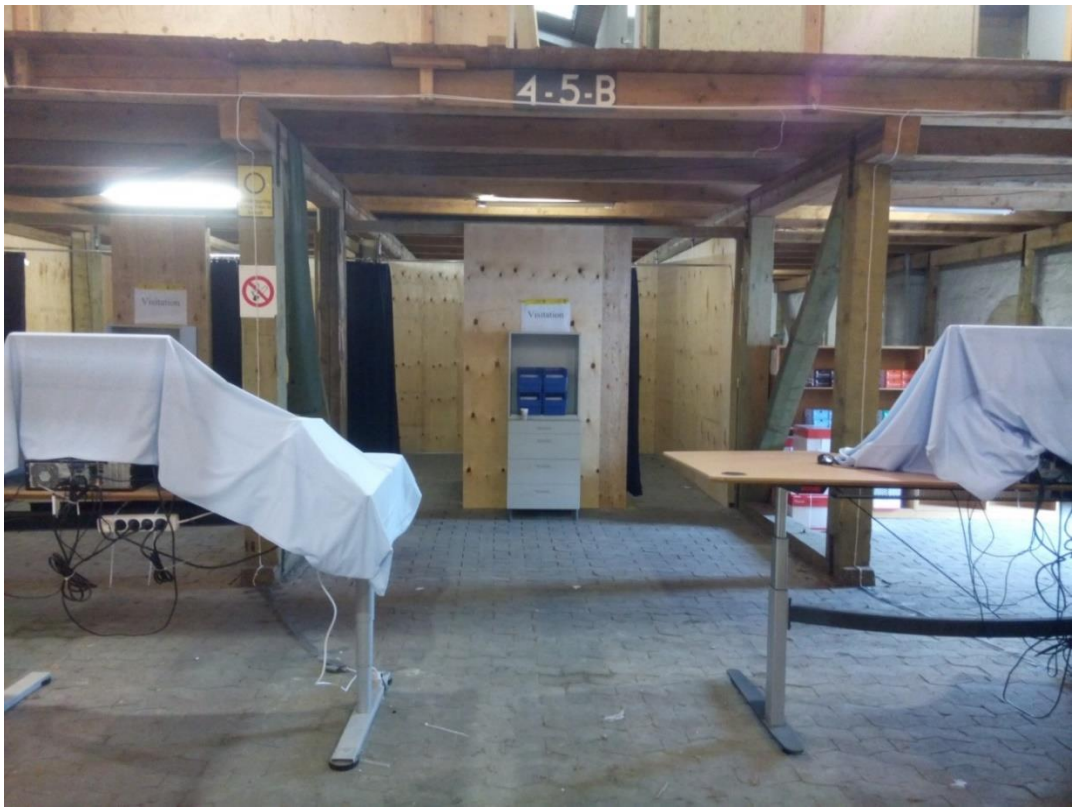
At another visit to the police unit, I was paired with Jan and spent the day driving to train arrivals and along the small border-crossing roads with him and his partner.[70] The strange sense of emptiness struck me again when Jan suggested that, now that I was there with them, we take a look at *Søgårdlejren*. An old manor house, Søgårdlejren had been converted into a training centre for the Danish Home

[70] Participant observation, April 2016, Padborg

Guard, a voluntary assistance and defence guard. But, in the midst of the refugees' arrival in autumn 2015, the manor's old horse stables and storage buildings had been transformed into an arrival centre for refugees and migrants (Danish Prime Minister's Office 2015). The construction of this temporary detention centre just before New Year's in 2015 was a highly political event that was hastily initiated as part of the government's launch of a new 'asylum package', which also included the temporary introduction of border control. Twenty-five huge tents, which could together serve as temporary shelter for up to 1,800 refugees, had been erected next to the buildings and in the courtyards of the old manor (Jydske Vestkysten Newspaper 2016). As I visited, it was early spring and still cold, so the tents were all heated; the electric heaters were buzzing away as we looked around the area. Jan took me inside the facilities and showed me around the detention centre's infrastructure for receiving a large number of refugees: whiteboards for keeping count, queue infrastructures, fingerprint scanners, and chipboard cells for conducting screening interviews or impromptu interrogations. The detention centre was a meticulously planned, logistical attempt to avoid the chaos that had occurred a few months earlier when refugees filled trains, walked along motorways, and left the police unable to adhere to the regulations. As it stood there, abandoned and never put to use, the reception centre was the materialisation of the fact that, for a short period of time, the Danish–German border had looked like the southern European borders. But things never got that far here, the centre was never put to use, and the Danish–German borderland had returned to being a peaceful and uncontroversial corner of Europe. This northern-European border was completely empty, and neither crisis nor refugees could be seen from there. But even if 'peace and order' had somehow been achieved, there was something haunting about the emptiness as it appeared along the Danish land borders to Germany. The empty border, the empty arrival centre, and the empty boxes juxtaposed the commotion and loudness of the implementation of the border-control operation: the many deployed police officers, all the hours, money, infrastructure, media attention, and political debate spent on the operation. With the introduction of temporary border control and the return of the borderline, people were no longer arriving, and in some ways, there was no work left for the police at the border. The introduction of border control seemed to make the very same border control obsolete.

A year later, in August 2017, 'peace' had been restored so much that, while my partners for the day and I policed the border, we were whistling, enjoying the mild breeze, the bright blue sky, the golden fields ready for harvest, and the soothing

Debris from the crisis: Organising system for pending asylum and deportation cases, March 2016.



Debris from the crisis: Registration camp outside Padborg, April 2016.

dark-blue colour of Flensburg Fjord (this was the kind of 'peace and order' that we as Danish citizens knew and cherished!). We casually discussed family life and weekend plans as we strategically parked the police car so as to either be seen (i.e., showing our presence) or not seen (the element of surprise). And, as we whistled, we scanned the dirt roads and roadsides for traces of trespassers; every so often, our eyes caught sight of a piece of plastic wrap from a snack or a discarded silver emergency blanket gleaming in the roadside grass.

Everyday speculations at the border: will they be back?

I was not the only one to notice the emptiness of the border. The police officers themselves noticed the sudden calmness, and they too were unsure how to interpret it. During my visits at the border, there was a lot of speculation amongst the police officers regarding the flow of people coming through Europe. They would say things like, "*They'll start coming again soon*", or *"When summer comes, they'll be here again"*. They would also try to predict how political decisions in other countries might influence their work at the borderline, reasoning that, "*If there's half a million unregistered people in Germany, they will come here when Germany changes its procedures next month*". Others hypothesised, *"When they have their asylum claims refused in Sweden, they'll come here on their way back to Germany"*.[71]

This speculation was not only about the future flow of people, it was also about what might be the most appropriate way to handle the task they had been given. Their uncertainty was reflected in the different analyses of what was happening at the border, which I encountered throughout interviews, brief conversations, and when accompanying the police on mobile patrols or at the border-crossing points. I mostly heard the sentiment that not very many illegitimate travellers were coming through the motorway or country road border posts. Although not many border trespassers were being encountered, Operation Border Control did indeed experience some sort of success, I was told, since the seizure of narcotics and drivers under the influence had increased since the re-introduction of border control. Likewise, the word around the region was that the hypermarkets on the German side of the border had experienced a decrease in the sale of liquor because people were being extra-cautious about bringing more than the permitted amount of spirits across the border.

[71] Coffee-break talks during visits in March and April 2016. These are not direct quotes, but rather my summary of what was discussed.

Eager as I was to understand how the different border-control practices activated different visions, methods, and landscapes, I would often ask questions about the patterns of movement: where and how people moved, and where and how the police found out. The answers I got, however, were often confusing to me because they would differ tremendously and, at times, would even be contradictory: Some told me that they would not pull over trucks because they were not likely to carry border trespassers. Others mocked the inadequacy of the border control and asserted that they would seize more trespassers if the trucks were more thoroughly and consistently inspected. During my stays at the border-crossing points, I also encountered different analyses of who the police were looking for. Mostly, it was vans with license plates from eastern European countries or young men of Arab origin in Belgian or Dutch cars that were pulled over for control. An experienced police officer who had been working at the border for years told me that most of the deployed staff tended to pull over way too many cars because they lacked knowledge of the local area. For instance, he explained, they would pull over almost every car with a Polish or Bulgarian license plate. He told me that, as an experienced border police officer, he would not do that. He was familiar with the area, and he knew which different construction sites or companies these types of drivers were probably working for, so he did not pull them over. Instead, he would pull over young men of Arab or African origin in Belgian or Dutch cars to check whether they were trying to smuggle narcotics, weapons, or people.

It was not only in relation to the selection of cars that I encountered disagreements about what was actually going on at the border. How to read general mobility patterns and which sites to select for control was also a topic of speculation and disagreement. In interviews and conversations, some officers highlighted the fact that the 'green borders' remained wide open and very sparsely patrolled, while others believed that nothing indicated that refugees were crossing these areas of the borderline. Others would openly wonder why no one was crossing the green borders since they were wide open. At the same time, I noticed how the different police officers navigated the border landscape in different ways. Some of the police with whom I drove would take backroads or drive through dirt roads in the forest while others would stick to the main road. Some were familiar with the border's landscape; others did not even know how to find the border. On a few occasions, I was told an anecdote about a police car driven by posted police officers who suddenly found themselves on the wrong side of the border. In one version of the story, the German police had suddenly discovered a Danish police car on their side of the border. In another version of the story, some of the regular Danish officers had found the deployed police officers at a small border-crossing point along the

green border, and pointed out that they were on the German side of the border. This was indeed something that could possibly happen to non-local officers since there are no obvious signposts or markings for the borderline at the smaller border-crossing points. If one is familiar with the area, however, one knows to look for the old border stones, the colour of the road signs, the stripes on the road, and other historical or national indicators.

The temporary border control as professionally unsatisfying

Besides speculating about the purpose and possible directions of refugee migration, the police officers would also speculate about the duration and conditions of the temporary border-control operation; in particular, they discussed rumours that the government might install the Danish Home Guard and perhaps even the military at a later time.[72] If that happened, they wondered, how would they divide the tasks, and would it even make sense to keep up the operation if there were no refugees?

From January 2016, the Danish government extended the temporary introduction of border control at regular intervals, and the EU Commission approved each extension for a certain time period. This meant that, at the organisational level, there was an ongoing need to prepare for different potential futures. If the operation was extended by the Danish government and the EU Commission, then the posted staff, the extra cars, the hotel accommodations, lunch boxes, busses, and logistics would continue – and the internet cable would need to be fixed, and the wind shelter would need to be installed before autumn. However, if the operation was not prolonged, then the police unit would return to the regular Schengen protocols, and they would continue to develop the strategies they had been working on before the re-introduction of border control.

Prior to the "long summer of migration" (Hess et al. 2016) and the re-introduction of border control at the borderline, the Danish parliament had decided on a new four-year plan for the police unit.[73] This plan promised additional staff, closer cooperation with German police, and a relaxation of the restrictions regarding surveillance equipment to track the traffic crossing the border. However, despite

[72] This did eventually happen. In June 2016 and October 2017, respectively, the Danish Home Guard (a voluntary assistance and defence guard) and Danish military were installed to assist the police. At the time of this writing, they are both still in place at the border; cf. Ministry of Justice announcement, April 2016; September 2017)

[73] See "Aftale om politiets og anklagemyndighedens økonomi i 2016-2019", Ministry of Justice (2014)

this political decision, there were no concrete plans for how to implement or finance it; as time passed, the four-year plan threatened to become obsolete. Still just a promise on a piece of paper, its prospective future had nevertheless managed to attract a few new employees. One day, I drove together with an 'old-timer' and a newcomer, Martin. Martin, his wife, and children had recently returned to their home region to be closer to their extended family, and Martin was hoping to find a professionally satisfying job in this unit. Although he was uncertain about his decision to leave his city police job in the 'fast lane' for a job at the border, he hoped it would be a position that could provide what he referred to as the 'right combination' of factors: professionally rewarding tasks, time and money for thorough investigation, sufficient legal tools to track down criminal networks, new technologies to scan documents and cars, and sufficient staff to cover the shifts. Meanwhile, some of the unit's old-timers were not so excited about the future plans for the unit. *"We know it will never be as good as they promise"*, they would sneer, supporting their scepticism by pointing out the poor working conditions and a continuation of the extreme work pressure.

Although the management tried to accommodate the staff's wishes regarding work hours and days off, the officers I talked with described how they still struggled with poor working conditions. The experience amongst the police officers was that they were giving their all but not receiving proper work conditions in return. For instance, they complained that the second winter was approaching, yet there was still not sufficient shelter to keep warm outside during the 'round the clock, year-round job of border control. Also, one could forget about enrolling in an evening course to learn French as an officer bitterly remarked, indicating the continual work pressure, lack of spare time, and lack of a predictable work schedule. They were happy – even proud – to offer their help in times of extraordinary pressure, but they were unsatisfied with the prolonged situation of pressure, which made it increasingly difficult to maintain a normal life outside of work. Both management and employees seemed to agree that the current circumstances were unsustainable – both with regards to work/life balance and professional satisfaction, and when I spoke with the management, they made no secret of being fully aware that their staffs were trained for more professionally rewarding tasks than checking passports at the motorway.[74]

[74] Discussions and participant observation; August 2017, Padborg

Temporarily installed border control infrastructure, Kruså motorway, August 2017

Peace and clear blue sky, Padborg, August 2017

The re-introduction of border control as a 'dis-placed practice'

I have shared these stories of emptiness, speculations and professional dissatisfaction (rather than, perhaps, accounts of how the police asked questions, counted people, or registered fingerprints in a database) in an attempt to follow the attention of the police as I experienced it. In other words, what seemed to matter to the officers with whom I met at the time of my visits was not necessarily methods of registering, questioning, or counting. To a certain extent, this sort of work was not consistently carried out: at the motorway, a pen and a notepad on which the officers were supposed to jot down the number of cars and passengers they had pulled over was often left behind for hours until someone remembered to use them, updating the figures by estimate later in the day. At the train station, the number of controlled passengers reported back to the police station was often an estimate. And, as I have described, the method of profiling was diverse, too: some officers looked across the borderland and saw the green borders as a place to be crossed; others thought about the potential illegal migrants in trucks; some did not even know how to locate the national borderline. Some were relieved to get instructions to detain an arbitrary number of refugees for registration, while others found it appalling. Some were glad that the border control was in place because it meant less turbulent working conditions. Others mocked the incompleteness of a border operation based on spot-checks and lamented the many days and hours they had to spend away from their families. I am not suggesting that the police disregarded their responsibilities, or that they did not perform their jobs properly. My point is rather that to bring attention to the sentiment that there was no clear task to carry out. Instead, what was clear (or at least, recurrent) was the peculiar emptiness, the speculation, and the lack of professional satisfaction. Will 'they' come, or won't 'they' come?

The emptiness, the speculations and the professionally unsatisfying aspect of the border pointed to a kind of displacement of the practice of policing the border. Such sort of displacement of practice have also been evoked in other studies of 'crises' and 'normalcy' and their 'before' and 'after'. Based on her study of tolerance promotion in Latvia, anthropologist Dace Dzenovska argues that the greater population rejected the rights-based political liberalism that EU elites promoted in Latvia during the 2000s, because it did not manage to plug into existing ways of being Latvian (Dzenovska 2018). Dzenovska relates this failure of connection to the work of anthropologist Andrei Yurchak (2006), who defines the late-socialist era in Russia as a time of 'hyper-normalization': a time that was defined by the repetition of a discourse that lacked its original meaning; an empty shell or practice that repeated a form but not the content.

A sort of similar disconnect between form and content was at play in the re-introduction of border control at the borderline between Denmark and Germany; however, in a slightly different way. In the case of the return to the borderline, the form was not simply repeated without meaning. Rather, there was neither a clear form nor any content to carry out. In other words, the "programme of the border" (Delaplace et al. 2012) remained uncertain. The speculation, complaints, and confusion show that the border that the police officers used to know was becoming unknown, or perhaps even unknowable, to them. As the stories from the daily work at the border suggest, the police officers were continually trying to re-establish a context from which the border's problem – and thus the border's solution – could appear. In this sense, a "crises of context" was unfolding (Hastrup 2011: 133), and the difficulties in stabilising a context from which the border could stand out as a specific figure led to the constant speculation about the object in need of policing.

The changing relations of the border

In the first part of this chapter, I tried to draw a picture of the daily police work that I met at the border; work that was characterised by a peculiar emptiness that generated confusion (will they come soon?) and irritation (if there is no need for us here, then we might as well go home to our families!). I have attempted to show that, even if 'peace' was installed at the Danish borders, 'order' was not – at least, not in a way that made sense to the police. In order to figure out what to make of all this, in the following section, I will contrast the interplay between commotion and emptiness and disappearance and reappearance of the borderline, with accounts of moments of crisis and transformation from other points in the recent history of the borderline between Denmark and Germany that I also encountered during my field research. First, by revisiting stories about the borderline from the beginning of the 2000s when border control had been removed, and the police had to relocate their gazes and their modes of enforcing the border; and second, by examining accounts from the 1980s, which was a time when a large number of refugees arrived.[75] The historical comparisons are based on stories, references, and

[75] In this chapter, I deal with comparisons regarding the transformation of the borderline. However, other comparisons were made amongst the police officers as well. The deployed staff would discuss the police operations and conditions of deployment in relation to the UN Climate Change Conference, COP15, which was held in Copenhagen in 2009. They compared this operation to the task of surveillance at the Great Synagogue in Copenhagen following a terrorist attack in early 2015, and to managing the recurrent gang riots in greater Copenhagen, which erupted again during 2016. As such, 'Operation Border Control' was not merely measured against previous forms of border

explanations that I encountered during my own field research as well as a number of transcribed interviews with border police officers from Padborg, which were conducted by ethnologist Mette Lund Andersen in the wake of the transition to the Schengen Area in 2001 (Andersen 2004).

Let me start by returning for a moment to Harry, the retired police officer who I introduced in chapter one. One of Harry's favourite stories (he told it to me on a few occasions) goes something like this: A few years after he retired, he was on his way to do some grocery shopping, when two men approached him (he was widely known in the local area as a former police officer) and they told him that they wanted to seek asylum. Harry decided to drive them to the police station and hand them over. But when they got to the police station, no one was there. He told me that he went inside, got the keys to the detention room, let the two men in, and went back to the office. When the officer in charge returned, he was quite surprised to find his former employee sitting with his feet up on the desk, drinking coffee. *"Well, nobody was here, and I don't suppose you wanted those two to slip away?"* said Harry with a grin to the surprise and annoyance of the officer in charge.

At least this is how Harry tells the story; the officer in charge might very well tell it differently. Either way, Harry's account of the empty police station portrays a system in which the police had been relocated from the borderline to other modes of border policing. Harry's story portrays a wide-open border, an empty police station and might you add, a system that does not seem very interested in ensuring that someone is available to handle an asylum claim. In any case, there were no police officers around that afternoon. In Harry's anecdote, Denmark's entry into the Schengen cooperation in 2001 had meant *less* control than *before* because the border had been empty of police. This sentiment was reflected in other accounts of the transition from a national border to a Schengen border. In a 2003 project commissioned by the Museum of Southern Jutland, ethnologist Mette Lund Andersen studied the effects of the border opening in different realms of the borderland community amongst local citizens, politicians, and businesspeople (2004: 11). For this project, she also interviewed police officers who were working with the Border Police Unit, which had recently undergone a large reorganisation due to the introduction of the Schengen regulations. In the transcript from an interview Andersen conducted with a police officer, it reads: *"Border control has been an institution here* [in the region] *since 1920* (…) *I know that a lot of people see it as a deficiency that there are no longer representatives of the state at the border. It's dangling;*

enforcement (as I discuss in this chapter) but also against other types of large police operations that took place over the past decade.

it's bit loose". The transcript continues, *"It is very empty here, when you cross the border. It lacks some identity"* (Andersen, interview 13, 2003).

Similar to Harry's anecdote, this police officer stated that Denmark's entry into the Schengen Area left the borderland empty of visible police officers, and it somehow also left the borderland devoid of the presence of the state; as a result, things became 'loose' or 'dangling', a term that reflects a sort of uncertainty with regards to who will be responsible for the borderline. In another transcript from an interview with a different police officer, it says: "*The night that the chief police officer had to remove the border barrier at Sofiedal* [a border-crossing point], *someone put up a sign in Danish and Arabic that said: 'Sandholmlejren, 273 kilometres'."* Sandholmslejren is the main reception camp for asylum seekers in Denmark. He continued: "*And I found that it was actually a pretty appropriate sign because it quite fittingly expressed people's fear that we would be pestered* [by migrants]*".* However, he added, *"…which we actually have not been"* (Andersen, interview 6, 2003).

In this police officer's account, the road sign plays into both police and local anxieties that the area would be "pestered" with migrants when the police were no longer there, but also that these migrants would need a sign for directions to the asylum centre since no representatives of the state would be present to point the way. The anecdote thus paints a picture of a border that is emptied of border officials and risks being filled with illegal trespassers. Interestingly, however, this police officer added that the abolishment of border control did *not* in fact lead to an increase in the arrival of migrants as expected (by locals, and by the police). With the opening of the border, there were actually *fewer* border trespassers than there had been for years.

When Denmark entered into the Schengen Agreement in 2001, the significance of the borderline was altered. The police were no longer allowed to perform border control at the borderline; concurrently, crossing smaller roads and fields (in police terms, the 'green borders') was no longer illegal. Like the case with domestic flights at the airport (see chapter six), the borderline was no longer a site for border control, and thus it was also no longer a site for the seizure of border trespassers. Significantly, this relocation of the border changed the practices of both police and immigrants. For border trespassers, it did not make any sense to cross the green borders when they could simply take the motorway. The borderline was no longer a location that mattered in terms of policing the border, and detailed knowledge of the border's landscape also did not matter because the police's gaze was relocated elsewhere (see chapter one). Emptied of police and emptied of attempts

to illegally trespass, the expected commotion or chaos never materialised; or, more precisely, it never located itself at the borderline.

In order to further understand the relations between crisis and normalcy, or commotion and emptiness that occurred in the mid-2010s in response to the so-called refugee crisis, I would like to make yet another historical comparison. In my observations and interviews, as well as in Andersen's interview material, the police would often make comparisons and references to the flow of refugees in the 1980s. In Harry's and other police officers' accounts, the 1980s were characterised by a high level of illegal passage across the borderline and, simultaneously, a large number of police officers stationed at the borderline. At this time, the police were present at the borderline in passport-control booths, and it was illegal for anyone but locals with special permission to cross the borderline anywhere other than the main crossing points. For police officers, working this borderline required a knack for knowing where trespassers would try to cross, and how to look for them at all times of day throughout the year. Therefore, during the 1980s and 1990s, people would try to clandestinely cross the border – either to continue further north, or to head for the nearest police station to claim asylum. Among the 'old-timers', the relaxation of Danish immigration law in 1983 (see, e.g., Green-Pedersen 2009: 68-69) was often evoked as a point of reference. According to their accounts, the 1980s were similar to the refugee crisis around 2015, particularly with regards to the number of refugees arriving and the over-worked police staff who had a hard time providing proper accommodations and generally coping with the urgency of the situation. Their work conditions were so harsh that many left the police unit to work elsewhere for a few years. In Harry's accounts, the police stations were crowded with people, and he and his colleagues would spend long working hours trying to ensure adequate conditions for those detained, attempting to provide them with nappies for babies, food, and a place to rest. Coupled with endless interviews or interrogations of people who had experienced torture and hardship before fleeing their country of origin, the work environment was mentally exhausting, which prompted many officers to break down. The pressure at the border decreased when the immigration legislation was strengthened in 1986; however, it kept recurring and returning throughout the following decades, as also suggested by officers in Lund Andersen's material. In other words, at this point in history, the borderline was the site for encounters between border officers and refugees and, as such, it was a site of "commotion". In this specific configuration of empty and full, the borderline as a site played a pivotal role.

'Ethnic control' and the crisis of context

In the previous section, I presented some of the border police's stories from 2016, 2003, and 1986; and I took this detour to focus on these comparisons in order to specify the kind of return to the borderline that was initiated in 2016 in response to the European refugee crisis. The historical comparisons suggest that the borderline had previously been the meeting point for police and border trespassers. Thus, it had been a site to know and to police (1980s and 1990s),[76] and it had been obsolete as a site when it was empty of both police and border trespassers (2000s). In the words of Sarah Green, the different borderlines were not-quite-repetitions of each other: things change, but somehow remain the same, in the sense that both, over time, were recognisable as a border in spite of the differences between their ways of being borders (Green 2005: 14; 40).

With the return of the borderline in the wake of the 2015 refugee crisis, the borderline was subsequently evoked as a site for policing but not for trespassing; and as such, it was a return that was completely its own; another not-quite-replication, which was however not yet recognisable as border. In that sense, the many speculations and hypotheses about the border that I encountered were remnants of all the previous borderlines and the kinds of measures that the police were used to activating. Some were seeing the borderline like Harry used to in the 1990s, while others approached it like they had been taught to do since 2001; i.e., not regarding the borderline as a specific point of interest, which made patrolling the borderline obsolete. Others came from outside the local region and knew neither the landscape nor the habitual flow of people, and thus brought a gaze from their own police districts and their own local problems. Because of this, there was not really a 'knack' to have. One police officer's analysis might be as good as the next; they never really got a chance to test who was correct since what they were doing was some sort of 'displaced practice' in which the places and the target of importance became difficult for the police to define. The emptiness at the border was different from other times, and the return of the borderline was unique. But where did this leave the police officers and their searching gazes?

One answer to that question, I learned, was 'ethnic control'. The police officers sometimes used this term to designate what was perceived as the *actual* purpose of the border-control operation. The first time I encountered it was when I was crossing the borderline together with a police officer. I realised that I had left my purse with my ID card in the police car, and asked whether I should go back and

[76] The shifting relations of the border existed, of course, prior to the 1980s, as the different booklets and documents in Harry's yellow binder indicated (Preface)

fetch it. *'It doesn't matter,'* said my partner for the day. *'Even if they deny it at the general meetings, this is an ethnic control.'* I took this comment to mean that I did not have an ethnicity that needed to be subject to control. What 'ethnic control' did look like, however, became clear later that day when the experienced police officer explained that the posted police officers (who were not familiar with the local area) tended to pull over too many lorries with Eastern European license plates. The term 'ethnic control' also appeared in some of ethnologist Mette Lund Andersen transcripts, to which I referred earlier. A police officer she interviewed raised concern that 'ethnic control' would be the only applicable tool left after the Schengen Agreement was introduced, and the control booth and police presence at the borderline were both abandoned.

In these examples, the term 'ethnic control' appears to designate something very different from the 'police nose' to which the officers often referred – a 'nose' that almost always seemed to sniff out more than merely ethnicity. Recalling Harry's and his colleagues' close familiarity with the borderland (see preface), this 'nose' would pick up certain types of information, such as a car's make, model, size, and cleanliness, the chosen road and route, its speed and the number of passengers, something mentioned on the morning radio or in the local newspaper. In other words, the 'police nose' was an extremely contextualised way of knowing the borderland, and of distinguishing *normal* and *abnormal* behaviour; thus, it was a way to know what should count as an object of further investigation, and what should not. This could also be understood as 'the bigger picture' and, for most of the officers with whom I spoke, it was something that was inexplicable but based on extensive observations and experience. In contrast, 'ethnic control' seems to be the exact opposite. 'Ethnic control' connotes a lack of experience and lack of ability to apply 'the bigger picture'. And in the way the police officers applied it, the term indicated a lack of strategic, targeted policing, and in that sense, 'ethnic control' was what might happen if there is no clear 'programme' of the border; in a situation when police no longer knew on what basis to filter and select potential trespassers, the fall-back position appeared to be 'ethnic control'.

Saying this, I need to make two clarifications: First, I am not implying that a 'police nose' that is able to detect 'the bigger picture' is devoid of ethnic bias or other prejudices. This is certainly far from the case. Experienced police noses also navigate within systemic racism in which, as several studies have shown, Global South movement is illegalised and criminalised (Casas-Cortes et al.: 2015). Also, my argument is not teleological in the sense that I understand 'ethnic control' as that which replaces a paradigm of open borders in some sort of progressive or dystopic development (I also do not wish to opine about which is worse).

Secondly, by applying the term 'ethnic control', I do claim that the reintroduction of border control necessarily and consequently led to 'ethnic control'. As it was, the management did was they could to train and brief officers so they could 'profile' in non-discriminatory ways. The term 'ethnic control', I argue, is however interesting and good to think with, because it captures the fear of what might happen if the task – and hence, the training and briefings – is not relatable. In that regard, I want to suggest that 'ethnic control' is a constant 'other' that runs through the changing relocations of the borderline, and that it is what the trained police officers use their professionalism to try to keep at bay. At each of the three points in history that I have described, the task of the police has been to demonstrate sufficient professionalism and a sense of the task at hand in order to avoid 'ethnic control'.

Conclusion: The relative location of Denmark in Europe

What seems to appear with the introduction of temporary border control and the return of the borderline was that, as soon as border control was reinstalled throughout Europe, border trespassers would no longer trespass and, as a consequence, there was no work for the police at the border to do. In some ways, the reintroduction of border control made the very same border control obsolete. This relates to what often has been referred to as the symbolic function of border, or 'spectacle of border' (De Genova 2002; 2013). However, I argue that the border I encountered did not just work 'pre-emptively' or through the logic of 'deterrence'; rather, it actively restored a specific European geography. The refugee crisis and the political responses to it underlined how Europe came into being through a continuous connecting and disconnecting of 'here' and 'elsewhere' that related some places to each other, and thereby separated others. What appeared in the midst of the crisis and the various attempts to end it was a struggle of connecting Europe; i.e., a struggle between different geographies of Europe.[77] Seen in this light, the European refugee crises can be understood as something that threatened to make the hegemonic geography of Europe come undone, and the reintroduction of control at the borderline was a way to prevent or undo such unravelling.

[77] Other scholars have recently pointed to the 'uneven' geographies of Europe as well as the multiplicity of Europes within Europe that both authorities and migrants perform (cf. Tazzioli 2015; Osserian 2017).

In order to understand the specific return of the borderline, I need to return to the discourse that the Danish prime minister used in January 2016 when he announced the re-introduction of border control. He emphasised that the initiative was a step backwards for the European and the Scandinavian partnership; however, in order to avoid chaos, the Danish government felt obligated to follow neighbouring countries that had introduced border control.

He said:

> *"When Nordic countries, such as Sweden, try to stop the flow across their borders, it might have consequences for Denmark. It might mean that more refugees and migrants will be stopped on their journey north, and will therefore end up in Denmark. This is because Denmark is located where it is– as a geographical bridgehead between Europe and Scandinavia"*
>
> (Danish Prime Minister 2016).

This matter-of-fact way of defining Denmark's position within the EU – i.e., as at the "bridgehead between Europe and Scandinavia" – was also mirrored at the police station in Padborg, where Denmark's location or, rather, non-location would sometimes appear. In the speculation about what might happen next at the border, police officers would often refer to things happening *elsewhere.* They would talk about how refugees were stuck in the Balkans or in Greece, or they would explain that refugees passed through the Danish borderland because they wanted to reach Sweden. They discussed that the refugees would probably travel back through Denmark on their return to Germany if their asylum claims were refused in Sweden. In the imaginary geographies that were evoked in these speculations, Denmark was never a destination. This was also reflected in the Prime Minister's speech in which he proclaimed that, *"Denmark is a bridgehead* between *Europe and Scandinavia"* (my emphasis) – as if Denmark was neither Europe nor Scandinavia. In this understanding of Europe, a re-introduction of control at the borderline is framed as a practical solution to a technical problem (cf. Follis 2012), even if it defines (not merely describes) a very specific constellation of Europe.

To conclude, with the reintroduction of temporary border control, 'peace' was ultimately re-established at the border in the sense that case files no longer piled up on Birte's desk, and her colleagues no longer had to fingerprint people against their will. However, 'order' was only installed inasmuch as border control became a 'displaced practice' for the police officers at the border; they were left unsure about how to duly police the border, and there was the pending risk of 'ethnic control' as the only tool they could apply. By bringing forth these continued

attempts to know the border, the specificity of the borderline and the way it relocates Denmark within Europe becomes prominent. In this chapter, I have described how a re-turn to the borderline control is not merely a *re*-action – rather, returning to the borderline is an active affirmation and a construction of the relation between places in the EU. As such, the re-introduction of border control was a struggle of contexts, and a struggle of strategically being visible and invisible, and in that regard, the return of the borderline was an attempt to strategically *not* be Europe.

Chapter 8: "Try to look into the future": conclusions

Among the papers Harry gave me when me met at the beginning of my field research, I found a printed version of a diary, that he had written during his deployment as a border police trainer at the Macedonian-Albanian border in the early 2000s. On a day in September 2004, he wrote:

> "*Again today, up at 6.30. Had a cappuccino and a soft-boiled egg with oregano for breakfast. Left at 8.00 to teach a new team in Macedonia (…) It is a mix of Macedonian and Albanian police as well as Macedonian military personnel in the class every time. We have two interpreters at our disposal, that is the Albanian interpreter* [name omitted] *as well as the Macedonian interpreter* [name omitted]. [T]*he training is going well, since the trainees are motivated and happy that we "bother" to go down to tell them about our know-how and experiences in relation to border control."* (HS personal archive)

Browsing through the papers, I also find some of Harry's lecture notes as well as pictures from his time in the Balkans. According to the notes, the lecture would start out with Harry and his colleagues recounting the history of the Danish-German border: how the current borderline was settled by a referendum after World War 1, how Danish border *gendarmes* (a border gendarmerie that was in place 1838-1969) controlled the Danish side by foot patrol, and how, in the wake of World War II, the German side was policed by the British Army until the early 1950s. According to the lecture notes, Harry would continue in the following way:

> **"DANISH BORDER'S DEVELOPMENT:** ***Upcoming co-operation and communication across the borderline:*** *In the very beginning of the 50s the British Army left Germany and responsibility was handed over to the Germans. Just a few years later - in 1954 – the first agreement between Denmark and Germany was implemented. The agreement described returning illegal persons and allowed local people (farmers) crossing the borderline without any control. It also allowed tradesmen to bring a packed lunch. To handle this very first agreement it was necessary to co-operate with the Germans so the first problems were solved by pointing at the text in the agreement that was written in both languages on each paper so you could compare the text and negotiate without any language knowledge.*

> *Later a direct telephone landline was established and when the German mobile patrols were established, the Danish* [custom's] *officers also* [were given] *a German radio. This occurrence was a very big step forward, because the Danish police could now listen to the German radio communication. A relationship of trust was established."* (HS personal archive, original text)

Along with the notes are pictures of the Albanian and Macedonian border guards, who are presented with a map of the Danish-German borderland and the historical development from a border with no contact to a border of cooperation. The lecture notes continue to refer to the range of social activities, such as football and Christmas parties, which helped establish a sound culture of cooperation among Danish and German police. One photograph shows a whiteboard in a lecture containing a list of keywords: *"joint patrolling, common border control post building, direct red telephone, communication and exchange of info, mutual assistance in case of incidents and accidents, language training, acknowledgement of legal frame, respect of human rights, removal of visa, Balkan without borders, exchange of lists of wanted persons, and hot pursuits*". Among all the technical words, a "Balkan without borders" has slipped in, pointing to the visionary and political project that these techniques of border channel. The lecture notes end with a group assignment which was described in the following way:

"Group work: Try to look into the future. Make a proposal for how to organise and carry out the border control in the future." (HS archive material, original text)

Celebrations of the future:

Looking at maps of the Danish-German borderland seems to prepare the Albanian and Macedonian border guards to be able to exchange the map of Southern Jutland with their own, to exchange 'Danish' with 'Albanian', 'German' with 'Macedonian'. The Danish-German maps in front of the Macedonian and Albanian border police give the sense that history and its lessons could be transferred. Look north; look into the future. However, Harry's lecture notes are not merely instructive as an example of the normative export of techniques for border. The lecture notes indeed also reflect the self-understanding of the Danish police, and how certain techniques, traits and goals are understood to belong to the either future, the present, or the past. In this vision, the 'good border performance' is to make friends with one's neighbour, and to travel out into the world and to be able

to pass this experience on, being able to enhance border at home and abroad; a good border is one that is worth imitating for others.

In that regard, the lecture material from the Albanian-Macedonian borderland in many ways encapsulates the stories I recounted throughout the chapters of this dissertation in which I explore how aspirations of transformation and expansion, quality and professionality were managed in the everyday bordering of Europe. A great deal of my field work material portrayed this futurism of Europeanisation, of the belief in the future as cooperation: celebrations of the future, of cooperation, and of turning towards each other. Europe Day in Chisinau, the tearing down of old border infrastructure at the Danish-German border, the training of police in order for their work to meet European standards, the implementation of master's degrees and "EU English" as a common working language (as Nina in chapter five called it). However, the chapters also showed a relocation of past and future, recasting that which had been seen as future as, if not past, then merely a version among others. Through the chapters, I showed how the past returned as the future: the Russian claim to territories in Eastern Ukraine momentarily shattered and questioned the role of the European Union's bordering practices in the West of Ukraine (chapter four). The refugee crisis of 2015 led to the reintroduction of the borderline as site of control and to a loss of faith in the current border paradigm as a sustainable way to solve the tasks at hand in a manner which could meet the diverse and diffuse expectations of what a border should be able to do (chapter six, seven).

In autumn 2017, browsing through the books in the famous Blackwell bookstore in Oxford, I found one newly-published book after the other claiming the 'fall' or the 'end of' of Europe, of the liberal world order, or of globalisation. That year's intellectual bestseller was *After Europe?* by Bulgarian political theorist Ivan Krastev (2017), who used the fall of the Habsburg empire in the late 1910s and the fall of the Soviet Union in the early 1920s to remind the European Union and its citizens that things do fall apart. He stressed that this experience of sudden rupture was something which Eastern Europeans had recently experienced, and thus understood much more clearly than Western Europeans, and he framed the 2015 and 2016 'European refugee crises' as a moment of complete change of perspective in which a collective Europe was no longer necessarily the future (ibid.: 9). It is safe to say that at the time of writing, the narrative of cooperation as the future has been replaced by a narrative of ends and break-ups. From here I will try to draw some conclusions about the findings of this dissertation.

I begin with a reflection of the temporality of the dissertation, not only in regard to what I encountered during my field research, which has been presented in different ways through the analytical chapters, but in terms of the dissertation as a whole, and the sort of critical project it engages with. Secondly, I discus the ambitions behind the methodological design, and finally I discuss the main theoretical inspirations which have conveyed the findings of the analysis.

The temporality of the dissertation analyses

Even if this dissertation project coincided with what has been defined as the 'European refugee crisis', and even if this was a moment which, as Krastev understood it, changed completely the perspective on Europe, my ambition in this dissertation has not been to trace, classify or explain the 'European refugee crisis'. Quite the opposite; my research interest departed from an understanding of the bordering of Europe as inherently conflictual (cf. Hess and Kasparek 2017b); and I set out to study the multiplicity of the various stabilisation attempts launched as containing such inherent conflicts. This is what I referred to in the introduction chapter as the 'aspirations for transformation and expansion'. During the time of my fieldwork, I spent quite a lot of energy trying to not let crisis narratives of the media and politicians define or divert my interests, and to not be led astray by the claims of crisis. Nevertheless, things did change during those years, and it was a very unusual time to be studying the borders of Europe: the bordering of Europe became a matter which moved from being debated by the few (asylum seekers, activists, professionals, and critical scholars) to being a central concern of general public interest which exposed that the bordering of Europe clogged together discussions of humanitarianism, security, past and future. I tried to capture this through the debate between two border officials and myself, which took place at a modernized-then-fortified border crossing point in the middle of the unfinished border businesses of the 20th century, a border dividing Moldova, Ukraine and the unrecognized state of Transnistria (chapter four). During the years of the 'European refugee crisis', the work my interlocutors were carrying out was changing; and so were the fieldwork experiences I had: I found the introduction of temporary border control in a site where I had expected to study the joint patrols of Danish and German Police[78] (chapter 7), and I encountered the relativizing and questioning of the usefulness of cooperation as bordering technique, where I had expected to find a condensed version of European Union methods for border

[78] Joint patrols and cooperation with German police persisted throughout the introduction of temporary border control, even if to a lesser degree than before January 2016.

enforcement (chapter 4). The 'European refugee crisis' was, however, also oddly absent in other encounters. In regards to the interviews which I discussed in chapter five (Daniel and Nina), I have again and again read through notes and interview transcriptions, but even if the interviews took place during the very 'summer of migration' (Hess 2016) and just after the arrival of a hitherto unseen number of refugees into Denmark, neither interviewees nor I as an interviewer addressed this situation of exceptional urgency. This indicates an interesting kind of temporality of crisis: the Danish border officials, who worked closely with European Border Guard Team and Frontex, were well acquainted with the perpetual state of crisis. Lydia, a Danish officer, who had often been deployed to joint operations in Greece, Spain and Italy since the early 2010s, explained that the harsh criticism that was at times fired at Greek and Italian authorities was difficult for her to listen to.[79] She told me that she sometimes thought to herself; what would Danish officers do, if 4000 migrants knocked on their doors on a daily basis? She added that her Greek colleagues often looked very tired at the end of a long day, and as they went home to sleep, refugees kept on coming; the line of people never ended. This was accentuated by her explanation that she, deployed as a screener or debriefer, who collects information about migratory routes for Frontex analysis, did not experience any stress or pressure, because she was not obliged to meet a certain target number of interviews. Seeing the overwhelming task it was for the local authorities in southern Europe to perform border control, register refugees and prevent illegal residence within their countries, Lydia both pointed to the perpetual situation of crisis which had been going on for years, however she also sustained the geography of Europe, in which it had become normalised to expect chaos at the southern European borders. This brings me to another comment, made by a police officer in the airport, who was also a border expert accustomed to working with the collective European borders. As he was introduced to me, a PhD researcher, he shared his own research question with me; *"since you study these things, tell me, why was everyone so surprised?"*, pointing to the geography, which delegated chaos to the southern European borders, leaving other borders forgotten or seeming uncontroversial, as well-known to him.[80] Does the dissertation's analyses then represent a glimpse into an extraordinary moment in the history of European borders, or more precisely: did what occurred appear as a time of crisis as opposed to times of stability?

The dissertation answers this question in a number of ways. Indeed, the analytical chapters, generated in conversation with field material from 2015-2017, resonated

[79] Note-registered interview, June 2015, Border Control Unit, National Danish Police
[80] Participant observation and informal discussions, February 2016, Copenhagen Airport

with, responded to, reflected on different sorts of crisis narratives and critical events. In chapter 7, I presented Henrik Vigh's notion of a 'chronicity of crisis', which he introduces based on a study among urban youth in Bissau, and which he defines as a perpetual lack of stability (2008). This notion corresponds to Hess and Kasparek's suggestion to see the European border regime as inherently conflictual (2017b). Another approach is the one suggested by Frida Hastrup who studies a local recovery process in the wake of a natural disaster (2011). She suggests instead the notion of crises of context, in which what was previously familiar becomes unfamiliar (2011: 32). This notion, Hastrup argues, however also points to the continued work on trying to find ways to stabilise one's context again: It is this kind of continued work on trying and attempting to stabilise, to know and to locate that I have shown throughout the analysis chapters.

In chapter four, I showed how an ordering of past, present and future and the setting forth of specific techniques of border was not the only version of the border, even if it for some time seemed to be the only visible vision. However, EUBAM's attempts at bordering Europe through cooperation and same-making also bumble on, so to speak, and the mission's mandate has been renewed every four years since its establishment in 2005. This points both to the way in which the project of a European future of connections persists, but also how the task of transforming the border does not seem to be able to fulfil its own goal; rather it continues its trail; e.g. the newly opened joint border crossing point at Palanca (UNDP 2017). In chapter five, I explored how border officials had long been in a situation of perpetual negotiation or conflict in regard to how to combine the conflicting claims to Europe's borders. The contradicting demands and claims could not be combined; perhaps not as much because they were contradictory, as because they were all only aspirational, and needed their grip (Tsing 2005: 1) to be mobilised; they were however always mobilised in tandem with other aspirations and claims to Europe, and as such, the borders which came from them were their own version in which human rights was a reminder to talk politely, and excellence was the balancing act of promoting best practices and respecting status quo. Chapter six dealt with continuous struggles to allocate sufficient resources in order to make the border live up to what it was intended to do; however, it also spiralled the continued search for ways in which to satisfy the fantasy of a sealable border. This continued quest eventually led to the installation of soldiers at the borders. Finally, chapter seven portrayed a situation in which the relocation of the border resulted in a fundamental insecurity as to how to proceed with the border. This in turn sparked a range of different speculations and discussions about how to know the border. The emic notion of 'ethnic control' was presented as something that could

potentially be the only tool capable of turning an unknowable border into one which could be known. To summarise, the chapters certainly did present moments of continuous crisis, but more so, they also presented attempts at overcoming such crisis, attempts which located and relocated Europe.

Complicity and critique

This brings me to a discussion of the design of my study and the methodological implications of studying the bordering of Europe. Human Rights organisations have reported violations of the human rights codex by border guards, and newspapers and scholarly work report endless stories of abuse by border guards e.g. via the methods of 'push-backs' on open sea (Follis 2013; Schindel 2015; see also Vaughen-Williams 2015). What ethical implications or imperatives does engaging in a study of such a system entail?

Within the field of critical border and migration studies, such questions have been linked to discussions of complicity and reproduction. DeGenova has called the study of illegalised migrants "epistemic violence" (De Genova 2002: 422) in that it reproduces the system's categorisations of a group of people. In other words, to study that which is singled out as an object or group by the state and an area of illegality indeed poses a challenge both ethically and epistemologically. In the book *Illegality Inc.* (2014) anthropologist Ruben Andersson addresses these crucial questions in terms of complicity, arguing that migration research has become part of the migration business which continually produces problems and solutions (Andersson 2014). Likewise, discussing his own preconceptions of illegality and migrants, Andersson points to his own complicity as a researcher in reproducing the illegality industry: as he became aware of his romanticised ideas about the migrant journey, he decided instead to pay attention to *"the system in which illegal migration is both controlled and produced—its configuration, its workings, and its often distressing consequences"* (2014: 14). In his ethnography of the European border regime, Andersson describes an industry which constantly adds fuel to its own engine; an industry which also involves academics, journalists, activists, populations, industries, and not merely state and migrant as adversaries. The notion of a migrant engine which feeds itself is very intriguing and sets an important critical agenda for migration research. However, by moving from blindly feeding the machine to critiquing the system, where does that locate the researcher then? Does he or she move from a place deep within the machinery to one outside of it? In this dissertation, I have also attempted to shift the focus away from the migrant to the infrastructure, and I have done so by exploring border

officials working at the national yet European borders in the airport of Copenhagen, the temporary borderline at the Danish borders with Germany and the not-yet-European borders of Moldova and Ukraine. From here, I have suggested to frame complicity as a productive analytical condition of (any) ethnography. In other words, I would perceive myself as continuously 'complicit' as a co-producer of stories about connections and separations in the act of bordering Europe. I have done this by introducing what I have called an 'arbitrary Europe', which does not promise to account for or to represent the entirety of a European border regime. Rather, the arbitrary Europe worked as an 'inverted telescope' (Andersen et al. 2015) from where to tell stories about borders and Europe slightly different from those often presented within globalisation narratives and also within critical border and migration studies

The mundane and the extraordinary, or being where it doesn't happen

This brings me back to specifying what I argue my 'arbitrary Europe' has been capable of doing. The stories I have presented in this dissertation are not the classical hot spot stories; they are not stories of explicit drama, tragedy or urgency. They have been perhaps, at times, quite uneventful. It has however been my clear ambition to slow down the tempo of studies of border regimes, border control and border policing as a way to avoid reproducing the language, speed, and urgency embedded in the crisis narratives surrounding the borders of Europe. In this way, the ethnographic material and the analytical claims I have presented does not have validity in so far as they are measured by a yardstick that measures topicality or revelations. Instead, I have attempted to productively use the stories of silence, emptiness, and contemplations that I encountered during my fieldwork. By not pointing to the same places, the same speed, and the same dramas, I used my not-being in the drama productively, so to speak: in EUBAM in October 2015: the crisis in Ukraine, "they are building borders in Europe, now": how did that reposition the transformational project and process of the European Union? Enjoying the view over yellow fields and whistling a summer song at the Danish-German border: how was it even possible to have such a peaceful afternoon in the midst of a 'crisis' that was seen as circumventing everything? One strategy is to show the absurd and meaningless in the bordering attempts, another strategy is to show the 'banality of exclusion' (Follis 2010). In this dissertation, I have opted for the mundane as a powerful lens to contemplate over the connections and relations which make the violent or chaotic appear and disappear from certain vantage

points. As I will elaborate in the final section, this dissertation has thus offered a method for studying the production of the 'forgotten' or the 'uncontroversial'.

Relocating Europe through friction, simultaneity and relative locations

The main theoretical inspirations for this dissertation have been three books: Doreen Massey's *For Space*. Sarah Green *Notes from the Balkans*, and Anna Tsing's *Friction*. Books which I all encountered during my graduate studies and whose authors in diverse ways were working to capture and grasp the stories of globalisation and flow. These are studies which emphasise constant work of connections, hierarchies and scales that globalisation narratives have rendered invisible, and all three authors set out to challenge the smoothing stories of globalisation. Massey dedicates her book to the multiplicity of space, which, she argues, has been suppressed or forgotten in the expansionist narrative of globalisation (2005: 62ff). She offers instead the notion of space as a "simultaneity of stories so far" (ibid.: 12) (see also chapter 4). In the book *Notes from the Balkans: Locating Marginality and Ambiguity on the Greek-Albanian border* (2005), anthropologist Sarah Green offers the notion of relative location to study the shifting value and location of places. Her exploration of the production of marginality and ambiguity in the location of the Greek-Albanian border, however also entails the study of how things become something different from what they used to be, while also still remaining somehow the same; how they come to be visible or invisible; knowable or unknowable; perceived as chaotic or organised (ibid. 142ff). In *Friction* (2005), Anna Tsing studies the way aspirations for global connections get to work in the Indonesian rainforests, creating all sorts of new connections and objects along the way, and leaving behind and breaking up others (see also chapter 2, and chapter 5). Taken together, the critical project in these books is to render differences and tensions (simultaneities, changing relations, and frictions) visible as opposed to conflating them into one concept of time or space. They allow for past and present to be articulated in terms of co-existence rather than replacement, and for attending to the process of drawing together things, making them into entities, or disconnecting them and cutting their relations. This critical project is captured by Tsing in the following paragraph:

> "*How might scholars take on the challenge of freeing critical imaginations from the specter of neoliberal conquest – singular, universal, global? Attention to the friction of contingent articulation can help us describe the effectiveness, and the fragility, of*

> *emergent capitalist and globalist forms. In this shifting heterogeneity there are new sources of hope, and of course, new nightmares."* (Tsing 2005: 77)

In my analysis I have drawn together these inspirations by exploring the attempts of stabilising, mobilising, and knowing the border which I encountered among border officials. I have done this by bringing forth the moments of destabilization, of discussion, of frustration and of speculation; or in analytical terms, the moments of friction, of simultaneity and of shifting relations. I studied how aspirations for transformation and for expansion, for quality and professionalism were mobilised and put to work, in the everyday conceptualisations and practices of border officials at the Danish borders and in the scope of EUBAM. I have suggested understanding this work through the notion of a continual relocation of Europe, in which new relations and separations recast both the location and the qualities attached to the borders and to Europe. The attempts have thus produced both 'hopes and nightmares' (to use Tsing's words) in the sense of diverse European geographies and European qualities which materialise in the wake of these attempts: Makeshift border infrastructures, non-police trained officers at the borders, the return of past ideals as those of the future, and the compromises in return for making things carry on.

Resumé

I denne afhandling undersøges håndteringen af Europas grænser med udgangspunkt i grænsepersonale ved tre forskellige grænseovergange i og omkring den Europæiske Union. Afhandlingen behandler hvordan dette grænsepersonale fortolker, praktiserer og transformerer "Europas grænser" i deres daglige forsøg på at levere sikre og effektive grænser.

Afslutningen på den Kolde Krig accelererede et tæt samarbejde mellem en række europæiske lande vedrørende håndtering af fri bevægelse og opretholdelsen af kontrol med ind- og udrejse. Dette samarbejde bragte en række forandringer af både metodisk, rumlig og materiel karakter med sig. Afhandlingen tager disse forandringer som sit undersøgelsesobjekt, og undersøger således uddannelse af mandskab, forståelser af samarbejde og forandring, fordelingen af mandskabsressourcer, og forandringer i grænsens fysiske landskab i form af både forsvindende og tilbagevendende infrastruktur.

Afhandlingens analyser er baseret på et etnologisk feltarbejde, der blev udført blandt dansk politi og den Europæiske Unions grænsebistandsmission til Moldova og Ukraine (EUBAM). Feltarbejdet fandt sted blandt politi og grænsevagter på grænseovergange inden for tre steder i Europa: i Kastrup lufthavn, ved landgrænsen mellem Danmark og Tyskland, og i EUBAM's hovedkvarter og feltkontorer i Ukraine og Moldova. Feltmaterialet består af interviews med grænsepoliti og -eksperter på, deltagerobservation i arbejds- og undervisningssituationer, og en samling interne arbejdsdokumenter, rapporter, arkivmateriale, PR-materiale og materiale fra nyhedsmedier.

Afhandlingen er opdelt i otte kapitler. I introduktionen og det analytisk-teoretiske kapitel afgrænser jeg afhandlingens ærinde til at undersøge grænsemedarbejdernes vedvarende forsøg på at stabilisere grænsen. Det analytisk-teoretiske kapitel udfolder endvidere fremhærskende forståelser af tid og rum indenfor migrations- og grænsestudier, hvorefter jeg foreslår jeg et analytisk fokus, der fremhæver en tidlig og rumlig multiplicitet. I metodekapitlet introducerer jeg sammensætningen af de forskellige feltarbejdesteder som et 'Arbitrært Europa' (jf. Candea 2007), og jeg viser, hvordan stederne tjener som trædesten til at udforske den konstante forflytning af, hvor Europa er og hvordan det skal grænsesættes (Green 2005). I de fire analysekapitler viser jeg, hvordan hverdagslige forståelser og praksisser om forandringer, forbindelser, kvalitet og professionalitet udspiller sig i håndteringen af Europa. Analyserne giver således

indsigt i de vedvarende forsøg på at stabilisere og udpege grænserne og deres formål. På denne baggrund slår afhandlingen til lyd for vigtigheden af at betone den tidslige og rumlige multiplicitet af studier af Europa og af grænser.

Summary

This dissertation studies the bordering of Europe as it is performed through the everyday conceptualisations and practices of border officials who enforce state borders in the realm of the European Union, specifically in relation to Schengen regulations and legislation. The end of the Cold War marked a point of acceleration for closer cooperation regarding the management of both territory and mobility between European countries, and the specific kind of cooperation that was initiated involved 'alterings' (Green 2013) of border enforcement – both materially, spatially, and methodologically. Taking such alterings as my object of study, I examine the training of border personnel, their everyday conceptualisations of cooperation and transformation, the allocation of resources, and the disappearance and reappearance of certain places as sites of border enforcement.

My analysis is based on the field research I conducted amongst officials who work with borders within the Schengen Area and the European Union, primarily officers from the Danish police and the European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM). My empirical material consists of interviews with select border officials and experts as well as participant observations of their diverse working situations, such as those at Denmark's international airport, the Danish land border towards Germany, and the EUBAM headquarters and field offices in Ukraine and Moldova. The material also includes observations of police-training sessions and a study of internal documents, reports, promotional publications, archival material, and news articles.

The dissertation is comprised of eight chapters. The introduction (chapter 1) and the literature review/theoretical framework (chapter 2) specify the research object of my study as the border officials' everyday attempts to stabilise the border. In chapter 2, I also review recurrent spatial and temporal tropes within migration and border literature, and I suggest a theoretical framework that emphasises temporal and spatial multiplicity, thus challenging epochal frameworks and an over-emphasis on connection (Tsing 2000; 2005). In chapter 3, I present my methodology and suggest the polemic notion of an 'arbitrary Europe' (Candea 2007) to capture the uneven combination of field sites, arguing that the three central sites serve as points of departure for studying the constant location and relocation of Europe as both a place and an idea (Green 2005). In the four analytical chapters (4–7), I engage with the everyday conceptualisations and practices regarding modes of transformation, and how to nurture quality, scale expectations, and ensure professionalism amongst the border officials involved in the bordering of Europe.

By exploring how the claims to transformation and expansion come to matter amongst border officials, the analytical chapters study the borders of Europe which emerge through the continual attempts to stabilise and pin down the borders' location and purpose. The conclusion (chapter 8) draws these analyses together by calling for a further emphasis on the multiplicity and simultaneity of temporalities and spatialities in the study of borders and Europe.

Fieldwork and written sources

The collection of empirical material for the project was conducted during fieldwork stretching from 2015 to 2017. The fieldwork took place primarily in Denmark, Moldova and Ukraine and includes interviews, participant observation and informal conversations with informants. The field material also includes written materials such as reports and publications from governmental agencies, online resources such as the websites of news media, annual reports, and archival material.

Interviews

National Alien Centre (NUC)/Border Control Unit, National Police of Denmark:

- Police constable, 16 June 2015
- Police inspector, 16 June 2015
- Police constable, 22 September 2015
- Police constable, 27 October 2015
- Police constable, 15 November 2015
- Centre director, 20 September 2017

The Police of Southern Jutland, Padborg, Denmark:

- Police constable, 13 March 2016
- Police constable 13 March 2016
- Police constable, 13 April 2016
- Police inspector, 14 August 2017
- Police constable 17 August 2017

European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM)

- Communication officer, 5 May 2015
- Head of field office and border management specialist, 11 May 2015
- Project Coordinator, Transnistrian Sector Office, 15 October 2015
- Border police analyst, Department of Analysis and Operations 15 and 16 October 2015
- Assistant researcher, Border Management Modernization Unit, 15 October 2015
- Specialist, Border Management Modernization Unit, 15 October 2015

- Specialist, Border Management Modernization Unit, 19 October 2015
- Head of communication, Department of Reporting and Communication, 21 October 2015
- PR and communication officer, Department of Communication, 21 October 2015

Other interviews:

- Coordinator, borderland museum, Southern Denmark, 8 December 2014
- Two retired police officers, 6 March 2015; 14 April 2016

Informal conversations and coordination meetings:

- Special Adviser in training and education, The National Police of Denmark, regular correspondence regarding setup of meetings, 2015-2016
- Lecturer at the National Police College of Denmark, phone conversation, 26 March 2015
- Chief Police Inspector, regular correspondence regarding setup of meetings and interviews, 2015-2017
- Police sergeant, The National Alien Centre (NUC), The National Police of Denmark, regular correspondence regarding setup of meetings and interviews 2015-2017
- Head of centre, National Border Unit, 26 February 2016
- Communications assistants, EUBAM, May 2015; September 2015

Participant observation, visits, seminars

2015:
6 Marts 2015: drive along border with former police officers
7-13 May 2015: EUBAM Chisinau field office, Europe Day, Chisinau Moldova
22-23 September 2015: Training session, Border Control Section, Danish National Police, Denmark
13-21 October 2015: EUBAM headquarters and field office, Ukraine
5-8 October 2015: CEPOL Research and Science Conference, Lisbon, Portugal
28-30 October 2015: CEPOL Research and Science correspondence meeting
13 November 2015, visit to Alien Control Unit, Padborg, Denmark
14-15 December 2015: Training sessions, Border Control Section, Danish National Police, Denmark

2016:
23-25 February 2016: Copenhagen Airport, Border Police
9-10 March 2016: Alien Control Unit, Padborg, Denmark
12-14 April 2016: Alien Control Unit, Padborg, Denmark
11 Maj 2016: Border Police, Copenhagen Airport, Denmark
(Maternity leave June 2016-May 2017)

2017
14-16 August 2017: Alien Control Unit, Padborg, Denmark

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